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ABSTRACTS

(abstracts are listed alphabetically by author)

Please think about the environment – Avoid printing!

Helen Abbott

'Politics or poetics? The battle cry of the refrain in Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's *Vox populi*'

Villiers de l'Isle-Adam's prose poem, 'Vox populi', shows the author drawing a close-knit relationship between the persistent collapse of political regimes during the nineteenth century in France and the perceived crisis in poetic production. Through my analysis of Villiers' text, I suggest that his distaste for the public who continue to feign allegiance to each successive governing power even in the knowledge that the regime might crumble, provides an insight into Villiers' own conception of power which, I suggest, offers a more subtle, indirect, and perhaps even subterfugal means of establishing authoritative longevity. I evaluate whether the binaries of stability and instability are played out through a particular stylistic trait that Villiers employs: the technique of the refrain. My exploration of the aesthetic background and precedents for using refrains in prose poetry allows me to refine the notion of the refrain in terms of dynamic volume and repetitive patternings (drawing, in particular, on the commonplace constructs of deafness and blindness that Villiers also employs in this prose poem). My analysis seeks to establish whether the refrain in Villiers' 'Vox populi' becomes a battle cry in order to rally support for the poetic cause, and whether that cause proposes a governing force which is profoundly at odds with the political constructs of the nineteenth century in France. I question, furthermore, whether Villiers' indebtedness to Poe, Baudelaire and Mallarmé allows him to align himself alongside other poets in order to lend weight to the poetic cause. Does Villiers foretell the return to power of the poetic regime by preying on the conscience of the public who have, themselves, been blinded or deafened by the bombast of unstable political regimes?

Elina Absalyamova

French literary works versus Russian censorship in the XIXth century

Censorship is the biggest limitation to the power of literature and, at the same time, the best proof of its social and political potential. On the cross-cultural level the institution of censorship has an influence on the reception of literary works in a new country as well as it establishes a correlation between art and other spheres of social life. We suggest to study the role of censorship in the reception of the XIXth century French literature abroad on several Russian examples.

Imperial censorship in Russia dated back to the reign of Catherine II (1762 - 1796) and was directly aimed at preventing the dissemination of revolutionary ideas. It concerned not only internal editions, but also book importation. This will lead us to study:

- (1) mechanisms of inhibiting the penetration of foreign literature into the country, such as
 - direct interdiction on editing or importing certain books (*Spiridon* by George Sand, works by Stenhal, etc)
 - censorship of critical articles in periodicals (no apology of a "undesired" author is possible)
 - censorship of translations (in the form of interdiction or modifications, cut outs and correction as in the case of Balzac's *Père Goriot*)
- (2) reasons and pretexts of prohibitions (politic, ethic, religious, esthetic arguments)

However strict the censorship regulations, the French literature gained its prestige in the XIXth century Russia. How was this possible: despite or even owing to censorship? To what extent the vision of the French literature abroad was influenced and modified by interdictions and control?

Catherine Authier

De la courtisane à la diva : le métier de cantatrice face aux institutions dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle

Dans la première moitié du XIXe siècle, la profession de chanteur lyrique subit de profondes évolutions qui nous permettent de réfléchir à la question du pouvoir des artistes dans la société à cette époque. En effet, le système initial qui voyait les artistes dépendants des gouvernants et des nobles est en train de disparaître. L'artiste-femme en particulier, autrefois exclus de la scène ou assimilée à une courtisane, s'affirme progressivement dans un monde en mutation. Elle est désormais pleinement acceptée comme professionnelle, et l'on parle alors de « cantatrice » alors qu'on évoquait seulement auparavant les chanteurs d'opéra. Du reste, c'est dans ces années du premier XIXe siècle que naît le mythe de la diva prolongeant celui disparu du castrat des XVII^e et XVIII^e siècles. La nouvelle image de la cantatrice incarne désormais un idéal suscitant un véritable culte auprès de son auditoire. On assiste alors à la naissance de ce que l'on peut appeler « le star système », avec le développement d'une véritable industrie du spectacle et l'avènement de la notion de marché dans le domaine du lyrique. Les artistes exigent ainsi des contrats, discutés auprès d'impresari, qui définissent les conditions de travail, de logement, de voyage, ou de nourriture, domaines qui étaient auparavant très aléatoires. La question de l'étiquette, du statut et de la hiérarchie entre chanteuses (le terme de « prima donna ») est également cruciale à cette époque, les artistes faisant des requêtes précises face aux institutions du spectacle. Quant aux modalités de rétribution, elles font l'objet d'âpres négociations. En plus des paiements sous forme de cadeaux, il ressort de la période qui nous intéresse une croissance exponentielle des salaires des chanteurs d'opéra italien, qui augmentent des années 1820 jusqu'à la fin du XIXe siècle, conférant une puissance financière importante aux vedettes. En effet, l'idée d'une vocation artistique particulière occultant toute considération utilitaire relève sans doute plus du mythe de la diva romantique sacrifiant tout son être au chant, que de la réalité du métier.

Mais on peut néanmoins s'interroger sur le rapport de ces cantatrices à la société, et leur niveau d'intégration à cette époque. Comment ces femmes étaient-elles perçues en dehors du monde artistique? A quoi leur existence pouvait-elle ressembler? On peut en effet se demander si ces femmes de scène avaient une vie privée, et si elles avaient le temps d'exister en dehors des planches et du public. Vivaient-elles dans le style bohème, plutôt bourgeois ou justement comme de véritables divas? Quel était leur mode de sociabilité ?

Dans cette perspective, nous nous appuierons notamment sur l'exemple de la carrière de Giuditta Pasta qui est une des premières cantatrices du XIXe siècle à pénétrer pleinement le marché international. En tant qu'artiste et femme, nous essaierons ici de comprendre son parcours professionnel éblouissant, en étudiant le contexte dans lequel elle a évolué entre l'Italie, la France et l'Angleterre. Dans un climat de forte concurrence, comment a-t-elle géré ses relations avec les administrations des différents théâtres ? Le renouveau de l'opéra seria et l'immense succès de Rossini lui confère un certain pouvoir que nous essaierons d'analyser, en travaillant entre autres sur les documents d'archives et les extraits de correspondance avec les différents acteurs du monde lyrique, directeurs des théâtres, impresari, rivales etc... notamment à Paris, au Théâtre Italien. Sur le plan

personnel, la cantatrice est parvenue à développer des amitiés avec des personnalités très variées, des artistes, mais aussi des écrivains, dont Stendhal demeure le plus célèbre. A travers ses témoignages, la relation qu'elle avait avec son mari, et les études sur le salon que l'artiste tenait à Paris, nous tenterons de comprendre et de définir la notion de « pouvoir » pour une cantatrice du XIXe siècle.

Blaise Bachofen

La croyance contre le pouvoir :

***La Religion* de B. Constant, une théologie politique libérale**

L'oeuvre de Benjamin Constant *De la Religion* (suivie des deux volumes posthumes sur le *Polythéisme romain*) constitue une énigme pour les historiens de la pensée. C'est à cette oeuvre que Constant a consacré la plus grande partie de son activité intellectuelle. Sa grande ambition était d'écrire une monumentale histoire des religions, en prenant exemple sur l'école historique allemande et en renouvelant la compréhension historique du phénomène religieux. Or cet ouvrage a été négligé à sa parution, et reste très peu lu et peu étudié, alors même que l'importance de l'oeuvre politique et littéraire de Constant était par ailleurs incontestée. Comment s'explique ce paradoxe ?

Mon hypothèse est que cette oeuvre prend tout son intérêt si on l'aborde d'un point de vue essentiellement politique. A travers ce qui se présente comme un travail de description historique, et qui est en réalité en grande partie une reconstruction, Constant élabore une théorie théologico-politique nouvelle: *un programme relatif à la valeur et à la place de la croyance, et plus généralement de la pensée individuelle, dans l'Europe post-révolutionnaire*. Contre le triple danger de l'athéisme, de la restauration religieuse et des nouvelles religions savantes telles que les imaginent les disciples de Comte ou de Saint-Simon, Constant voit dans la religion le moyen de sacrifier l'ordre de la subjectivité: le sanctuaire d'une "opinion" purement singulière, refuge inviolable de l'individu contre toute emprise collective ou institutionnelle. De ce point de vue, chacun des objets "historiques" étudiés par Constant (animisme, polythéismes égyptien, chinois ou grec, néo-platonisme, christianisme originel, etc.) doit être compris comme le paradigme d'une des possibilités qui se présentent, dans l'Europe post-révolutionnaire, concernant le statut de la pensée dans l'ordre politique. L'apologie que fait Constant de la multiplication indéfinie des sectes tarduit de ce point de vue le désir de consolider et d'absolutiser le respect d'une sphère privée constituée en contre-pouvoir.

Philippe

Huysmans

et

les

"fonctionnaires

lettrés"

du

Barascud

ministère

Le ministère de l'Intérieur, où Huysmans est entré en 1866, ou celui de la Guerre, auquel il a été temporairement affecté, comptaient de nombreux lettrés. Certains de ces collègues ont joué un rôle important dans la carrière de l'écrivain. Dans un bureau voisin se faisaient face, par exemple, le bibliophile Jules Bobin et le futur condisciple de Huysmans engagé dans la bataille naturaliste, Henry Céard. Plusieurs études se sont penchées sur le Huysmans fonctionnaire. Aucune n'évoque le premier chef de bureau de Huysmans, Joseph Delarosa, grand lettré introduit dans les plus célèbres salons de l'époque romantique, qui a pu impressionner le jeune employé rêvant de littérature. Le but de cette communication serait de montrer, par l'étude de l'entourage intellectuel de Huysmans dans sa vie professionnelle, comment le ministère, dont il s'est plaint souvent, qu'il a caricaturé dans son oeuvre, a pu favoriser, contrairement à ce que l'on pourrait imaginer, sa carrière littéraire, grâce aux

relations qu'il a pu nouer, aux personnalités qu'il a pu rencontrer.

Dorian Bell

“Frontiers of Hate: Anti-Semitism and Empire in Edouard Drumont’s *La France juive*”

Edouard Drumont’s 1886 publication of the wildly popular anti-Semitic polemic *La France juive*, which inaugurated the French political anti-Semitism that reached a fever pitch the following decade with the Dreyfus Affair, coincided with the most rapid period of colonial expansion in French history. Yet despite the repeated engagement by Drumont and other pivotal anti-Semitic figures with colonial questions, little attention has been paid to the impact of empire on French anti-Semitism. This paper begins to address this lacuna, examining how North African imperial developments in the first few decades of the Third Republic, including the 1870 Crémieux decree naturalizing Algerian Jews and the scandal surrounding the 1881 invasion of Tunisia, created an important new discursive frontier for metropolitan anti-Semitism. I argue that these imperial developments not only contributed to the growth of French anti-Semitism, but also to its transformation into the modern ideology that would cast such a long shadow over twentieth-century France.

Drawing primarily on Drumont’s *La France juive*, as well as on other anti-Semitic texts, I demonstrate how in the North African Jews who increasingly attracted metropolitan attention after 1870, a new means became available for weaving together the economic anti-Semitism of the Left and the racial anti-Semitism of the Right. The anti-Semites’ discovery of North African Jewry, I suggest, facilitated this ideological convergence in three ways: by offering comparative “proof” that Jewish financial and political maneuvers were common to, and coordinated across, different Jewish communities sharing a same racial bond; by providing an opportunity for the hyperbolic construction of a “primitive,” unassimilated Jew whose supposed criminality could be more credibly essentialized; and by celebrating the ostensibly deep-seated racial antipathy of Arabs for their Jewish neighbors, in hopes of transforming metropolitan compassion for these heroic Arab surrogates into a parallel racial antipathy for metropolitan Jews.

Jessica Benson

Institutional Metaphors, Metaphorical Institutions: power struggles between alienism and literature

The paper will explore the power relationship between literature and alienist medicine within the context of the establishment of the asylum system in nineteenth century France. The paper will be divided into three parts: in the first part we will examine the means by which alienist discourse attempts to exercise its power over the domain of literature. This is accomplished through direct engagement with literary texts (particularly those of the Fantastic genre) where alienists either seek to explain away the mystery of literary plots through making analogies between those narratives and the pathological workings of the mind in the production of, for example, hallucinations; or else aligning the mechanisms of artistic creation with those of mental illness. Thus either the literary text or the literary author is aligned with madness, and as such the alienist doctor can assert his medical authority over them.

The second part of the paper will explore the ways in which alienist discourse harnesses literary techniques in order to increase its power over the ephemeral phenomenon of madness. We will consider examples of alienist texts employing narrative structures in their depiction of the asylum itself, and employing metaphorical language in their attempts to portray madness as a tangible phenomenon worthy of medical research. Narrative and metaphor are thus employed in order to create a textual insanity which can be brought under the control of alienist discourse from its stronghold in the (Parisian) asylum.

The concluding part of the paper will explore the way in which the apparent power that alienist discourse wields over both literature and madness through its integration of literary techniques is undermined by those same techniques. By dint of inscribing madness upon the language of disease, upon the body, and upon the map of Europe in order that the image of the Parisian asylum may extend its explanatory control over these, the alienists in fact weaken that dominant image, for it is, in effect, turned inside out, 'controlling' from the inside a madness which inhabits all the world around it. This inherently literary language competes with the image of the all-encompassing asylum within which classification and systematisation flourishes, unpicking the apparently impenetrable discourse of alienation even as this discourse is in the process of being formed.

Claudie Bernard

“Justice institutionnelle et Justice idéale dans *Les Mystères de Paris* d’Eugène Sue”

Dans *Les Mystères de Paris*, où s’affrontent de manière manichéenne le bien et le mal, se déploie une interrogation sur la *justice*, entendue comme rétribution des bienfaits et des méfaits en vue d’assurer l’ordre public, effectif et symbolique. Or, la *justice institutionnelle*, munie de ses attributs, la Balance, le Glaive et le Bandeau sur les yeux, s’avère incapable de sanctionner correctement le mal. Son Bandeau l’empêche de discerner les vrais crimes ; sa Balance penche tendancieusement du côté des puissants ; son Glaive frappe avec une cruauté inutile. La prison est une école de criminalité ; la guillotine, un couronnement à l’envers pour le condamné.

Sont également disqualifiées ces formes parallèles dans lesquelles, au lieu de recourir à l’institution judiciaire, les victimes « se font justice » elles-mêmes. Il s’agit de la *justice nobiliaire*, en d’autres termes du suicide d’honneur et du duel, usages qui ne sont plus de mise dans le monde postrévolutionnaire. Et de la *justice plébéienne*, c’est-à-dire de la vengeance, qui, sanguinaire et anarchique, provoque des rétorsions en chaîne. Toutes ces formes échouent dans leur fonction de *répression*, voire contribuent à la contamination du mal.

Le héros du roman, Rodolphe, prince travesti en prolétaire (pratique dont Dominique Jullien a sondé les enjeux), se fait le champion d’une justice originale, qui, à la répression, entend substituer l’*expiation*. L’expiation comprend un volet punitif, fondé sur la loi du talion, que Rodolphe réinvente pour sa cause ; elle préconise en outre la *correction*, qui vise au redressement et au rachat du coupable, et la *réparation*, qui assure le dédommagement des victimes. Enfin, non content de sanctionner le mal, Rodolphe prône la *gratification* des bienfaits, ce qui crée une émulation dans le bien (c’est l’idée du prix Montyon, qu’analyse Goran Blix). Tout ceci dans le but, non seulement de maintenir

l'ordre public, mais de remédier à l'*injustice* sociale.

Dans cette mission, Rodolphe le Justicier prétend se substituer à la Providence. Mais il est lui-même un pénitent ; il a une faute sur la conscience, qui ne lui sera remise qu'au prix d'une *victime expiatoire*, soit, en vertu de la loi du talion, sa fille, Fleur-de-Marie. *Justice poétique* est ainsi faite par la Providence qui règne ici en maître, la Providence romanesque.

Janice Best

Les hommes de bronze de la Troisième République : commémoration ou oubli de l'histoire?

Née de la défaite de la France dans la guerre franco prussienne et des massacres de la Commune en 1871, la Troisième République fut une des périodes les plus prolifiques dans l'histoire de la France en ce qui concerne l'érection des statues – 150 statues entre 1870 et 1914, par rapport à 26 statues entre 1815 et 1870. La plupart de ces monuments servaient à commémorer les « grands » du passé : Voltaire, Danton, Rousseau, Rouget de Lisle, Diderot, Marat, Condorcet, Camille Desmoulins, Ledru Rollin, le Chevalier de la Barre et j'en passe. Bientôt la capitale fut ornée de tant de monuments qu'on inventa un nouveau terme – la 'statuomanie' -- pour désigner cette frénésie pour les statues commémoratives.

Mon hypothèse est que ce sont les aspects narratifs de ces monuments que différentes factions cherchaient à contrôler dans un effort de façonner le mythe fondateur de la nouvelle République. Ceux qui étaient au pouvoir et ceux qui s'y opposaient utilisaient l'espace public afin de souligner ou, dans certains cas, forger les valeurs de la nouvelle République. Pour le gouvernement, cette République ne pouvait être vue comme ayant ses origines dans un régime qui avait massacré ses citoyens. L'opposition, en revanche, cherchait des manières de commémorer les morts, et de réclamer la nouvelle République comme la leur. Dans cette communication, j'analyserai la façon dont cette lutte pour le contrôle de la signification des événements historiques s'est déroulée dans les délibérations du Conseil municipal de la ville de Paris. J'analyserai en particulier les monuments ayant suscité les plus grandes controverses : la statue monumentale de la République, le monument allégorique de la Défense de Paris, la statue équestre d'Étienne Marcel, le monument à Étienne Dolet, et le projet de créer un monument dédié aux morts de la Commune.

Goran Blix

“Popular Heroes, Public Virtue, and the Prix Montyon”

The French Academy instituted the *Prix Montyon*, or the *prix de vertu*, in 1821, a year after the death of the philanthropist Antoine de Montyon. Montyon had already established the award as early as 1782, but when the Revolution shut down the Academy in 1790, the distribution of the price was suspended for thirty years, and would only resume thanks to Montyon's 1819 will. The *prix Montyon* quickly became famous: a society event, a cultural institution, and a solemn ritual, the price was awarded annually to “un Français pauvre qui aura fait dans l'année l'action la plus vertueuse,” and a laudatory speech was pronounced by the Academy's director. Those who gave the speech, over the years, include Cuvier, Nodier, Tocqueville, Sainte-Beuve, Guizot, Scribe, Dumas fils, and Valéry - and,

more recently, Marc Fumaroli, since the “discours sur la vertu” is still an annual event. Always faintly menaced by ridicule, the solemnity of the prize still allowed it to serve as a powerful ideological vehicle, and permitted the intellectual elites to impose a safe and useful form of popular heroism. The popular hero, indeed, was up for grabs, I argue, and wide open to a range of definitions; it was a politically urgent matter for the institutions of power to shape this elusive figure. The decline of the aristocracy and of its warrior ethic had left a vacuum in the important cultural sphere of the hero, but this sphere could not simply be reoccupied in a democratic age hostile to privilege. A paradoxical “popular heroism” had to be invented, whose figures would be at once iconic and non-descript, exceptional and insignificant, famous and obscure - in whom identification would trump admiration. While distinct solutions to the challenge of “modern heroism” would be worked out by writers such as Balzac, Dumas, Sue, and Baudelaire, what interests me here is how the institution of the *Prix Montyon* tries to shape this conception: who are the heroes the Academy selects? what actions does it favor? what ideology informs its choices? how does it square the circle of “popular heroism”? and did its own rhetorical powers suffice to impose its new heroic norm on the culture at large? On a broader level, the paper addresses the question of the necessity of heroism as a cultural institution in modern times, and asks why so many writers, Carlyle and Emerson notably, felt the need to reinvent and reinvigorate the concept of heroism in the nineteenth century.

Gilles Bonnet

La Vengeance du critique masqué

« Dieu merci, nous commençons à désapprendre le respect des gloires convenues ! Nous ne nous inclinons plus devant les réputations consacrées par l'intérêt ou par la bêtise » écrit J.-K. Huysmans dans *L'Art moderne* (1883).

Héritier des « pieuses colères » de Baudelaire, il prétend incarner dans ses comptes rendus de Salons une telle révolte rageuse. Aussi déploie-t-il un arsenal de stratégies rhétoriques (déplacement, relativisme polémique, paralogismes...) visant à bâtir un éthos de polémiste. Une énonciation spectaculaire et excessive transforme la critique d'art en combat, contre le jury, et au-delà, contre toute autorité extérieure au champ artistique alors en voie d'autonomisation. C'est le mot-valeur de *vérité*, à la polysémie ici suspecte, qui servira constamment de contre-poids à Huysmans, désireux de souligner l'adéquation entre sa pratique critique et l'art d'avant-garde qu'il défend.

De la critique à coups de marteau.

Patrick M Bray

Prose Poses: Prose as Oppositional Space in Nerval and Baudelaire

Gérard de Nerval's *La Bohème Galante* (1852) and *Petits Châteaux en Bohème : Prose et Poésie* (1853) share with Charles Baudelaire's more famous *Petits poèmes en prose* a political, spatial, and poetic revolt that manifests itself through the adoption of what I argue is an insincerely modest prose. All three works by Nerval and Baudelaire, dedicated to Arsène Houssaye, combine disparate fragments of often previously published material that upset readers' expectations and resist easy classification and interpretation. By reading these texts together and in relation to each poet's earlier poetry, I show how they constitute not only a questioning of literary genre, but more fundamentally a critique of modernity's transformation of space.

Nerval's two texts, the second a variation of the first, begin with a description of his former residence on the impasse du Doyenné and its recent demolition in 1851 to make room for the expansion of the Louvre. Nerval, the poet turned "humble prosateur" rebuilds the physical and metaphorical castles of his youth with the remains of his juvenilia, of fragments of poetry from the Renaissance and of popular song. His commentary of the poetry and his long description of travels in the Valois serve to bind seemingly unrelated pieces together and resituate them in an idealized space. The controlled use of "digressive" prose in the service of the space of the Valois foreshadows Nerval's subsequent writings of the 1850's (*Sylvie*, *Angélique*, and *Promenades et souvenirs*). Similarly, Baudelaire's dedicatory letter to Houssaye in the *Petits poèmes en prose* conjectures that this hybrid literary form (which has both "tête" and "queue") is born from "la fréquentation des villes énormes", a continuation and progression of the themes in *Les Fleurs du mal*. The modern spaces found in such prose poems as "L'étranger", "La Chambre double", "Anywhere out of the world", "Les Yeux du pauvre" and others, describe an experience of marginality and deterritorialization with profound resonances to the works of Nerval.

A careful reading of these three texts disproves Marcel Proust's direct criticism of the use of prose by both Nerval and Baudelaire in *Contre Sainte-Beuve*: "maladie de la volonté ou manque d'instinct déterminé, [...] on essaye en vers, puis pour ne pas perdre la première idée on fait en prose". On the contrary, prose is poetry by other means, the only one conceivable in the wake of modernity.

Corinne Caliri-Gros

L'abbé Faujas ou Le pouvoir de la marge chez Zola

Le terme « pouvoir » a souvent été rapproché par la critique zolienne des notions d'argent ou encore de classe dirigeante. Mais peu d'études se sont pour l'instant arrêtées sur la question du pouvoir détenu par la marge dans l'œuvre d'Emile Zola. Cette proposition, qui s'inscrit dans le contexte plus large d'un travail sur la notion de « monde à part » énoncée par Zola dans ses notes préparatoires aux *Rougon-Macquart*, a pour objectif de s'intéresser au pouvoir détenu par le prêtre (et plus particulièrement par l'abbé Faujas), en tant que membre d'un groupe marginal. Il s'agit pour nous de montrer comment l'autorité de cette institution qu'est l'Eglise est détournée par son représentant même, le prêtre, et quel pouvoir ce dernier retire de ce mésusage.

Nous nous proposons donc d'analyser, dans un premier temps, la nature du pouvoir détenu par le prêtre dans *La Conquête de Plassans*: fascination sur les femmes comme sur les hommes (poussée à son extrême dans le cas du couple Mouret), ainsi que sur les autres prêtres, mais aussi impact idéologique réel sur le plan moral et politique. Puis, nous cherchons à relever les manifestations de ce pouvoir, en montrant tout particulièrement le caractère insidieux. L'abbé Faujas utilise en effet le sacré, le rite et la moralité propres à l'institution de l'Eglise pour parvenir à ses fins politiques. Il s'agit enfin de faire ressortir l'impact critique de ce pouvoir du prêtre, en termes de décrédibilisation de l'institution à laquelle il appartient, l'Eglise, mais aussi plus largement de la politique du Second Empire.

Aude Campmas

La norme discriminante : les discours naturalistes comme discours tératogènes

Discours institutionnalisés, normalisés dans la seconde moitié du XIX^e siècle, la botanique et la zoologie deviennent des discours discriminants et dominants. Ils créent des classes reconnues, des objets admis et, dans le même temps, des choses déclassées, hors-normes c'est-à-dire n'entrant pas dans les cadres définis par leurs législations. Toute classification est tératogène parce qu'elle génère de l'inclassable. Ces objets résiduels de la science apparaissent comme les monstres modernes. L'usage des discours naturalistes par les romanciers est souvent dû à cette spécificité : la production collatérale du monstrueux. « Caricature » de la pensée positiviste, de l'objectivisme, le discours savant est aussi, au sens où l'entend Michel Foucault, un « champ stratégique ». Les discours de la vérité et des pouvoirs institutionnels y entrent en concurrence. Quand un romancier insère des données savantes, imite un discours naturaliste, il met en jeu ces rapports de force. Le « dire vrai » s'oppose alors à l'« être dans le vrai¹ ». L'habile utilisation de cette tension permet aux écrivains d'imaginer des monstres d'autant plus effrayants qu'ils ont l'air possibles. Nous nous proposons d'étudier l'usage de ces particularités à travers les extraits de quatre romans - *Les Travailleurs de la mer* de Victor Hugo, *Vingt mille lieues sous les mers* de Jules Verne, *La Curée* d'Émile Zola et *À rebours* de Joris-Karl Huysmans.

Outre les descriptions, nous nous attacherons à l'usage de la nomenclature dont les effets tératogènes sont indissociables du sentiment d'impérialisme qu'elle véhicule. Comme le souligne, à propos des mots, Humpty-Dumpty « la question est de savoir qui sera le maître² ». Les noms savants, imposés à l'ensemble de la communauté scientifique, portent la marque d'un savoir, un savoir européen, dominant dont l'usage immodéré, voire détourné, participe à l'émergence du monstrueux.

Enfin, nous montrerons que les effets tératogènes des discours savants affectent les romans. L'insertion de discours réglés, marqués, codifiés conduit au dérèglement discursif du texte romanesque en introduisant de l'indéchiffrable à déchiffrer. L'entrelacement de discours hétérogènes conduit à la création de textes eux-mêmes monstrueux, mises en abîme des objets qu'ils décrivent.

Frédéric Canovas

De l'onanisme : Discours institutionnels et alternatives individuelles

L'objet de cette communication est la confrontation de deux discours concomitants sur l'onanisme au XIX^e siècle : d'une part le discours médical dominant, d'autre part le texte littéraire. L'un n'est pas sans influencer l'autre comme le démontre le *Charlot s'amuse* de Paul Bonnetain (1883) qui nous servira de point de départ. Il est cependant d'autres textes littéraires qui se présentent comme des alternatives aux discours pseudo-médicaux prônés par les institutions. *Le Voyage d'Urien* (1891) d'André Gide est de ceux-là. La description

¹ Michel Foucault souligne à la suite de George Canguilhem la différence entre « dire vrai » et être « dans le vrai ». Pour appartenir à une discipline, une proposition vraie ou fautive doit répondre à certains critères que celle-ci établit. Elle est ainsi « dans le vrai ». Foucault prend l'exemple de Mendel qui, bien qu'il disait vrai, ne fut pas écouté par l'institution car il n'était pas « dans le vrai » du discours biologique de son époque.

² « - Lorsque moi j'emploie un mot réplique, Humpty-Dumpty d'un ton de voix quelque peu dédaigneux, il signifie exactement ce qu'il me plaît qu'il signifie... Ni plus, ni moins.- La question, dit Alice, est de savoir si vous avez le pouvoir de faire que les mots signifient autre chose que ce qu'ils veulent dire.- La question, riposta Humpty-Dumpty, est de savoir qui sera le maître ». Lewis Carroll, *De l'autre côté du miroir* dans *Œuvres*, tome 1, trad. par Henri Parisot, Paris, Robert Laffont, p. 181

des maux dont sont victimes ses personnages ressemble à bien des égards à celles que l'on trouve dans les traités médicaux et autres brochures de vulgarisation consacrés justement à l'onanisme. Le récit mentionne d'ailleurs de mystérieuses « brochures morales ». Quoiqu'il en soit, il n'est qu'à se référer au célèbre Livre sans titre de 1830, ouvrage accompagné d'illustrations qui décrit par le texte et par l'image les ravages de la maladie causée par la masturbation, pour constater combien les maux subis par ceux qui s'adonnent au vice solitaire coïncident avec ceux décrits dans Le Voyage d'Urien. On y retrouve en effet les rêves affreux des compagnons d'Urien, la fièvre lente qui les consume peu à peu, la nausée, la perte des cheveux et des dents, les taches sur la peau, les crachements de sang et jusqu'à cette mort dans des tourments horribles. Gide connaissait sans doute cette publication qui eut un succès considérable et fut rééditée plusieurs fois au cours du XIX^{ème} siècle avec, en épigraphe, une citation de Samuel-Auguste Tissot le célèbre auteur de L'Onanisme. Ce genre d'écrits, et notamment ceux de Tissot, faisaient alors l'unanimité dans le monde médical et dominait l'éducation d'un bout à l'autre de la société. Comme le mentionnent Jean Stengers et Anne Van Neck dans leur histoire de la répression de la masturbation, « Tissot a réussi à s'imposer jusqu'aux sommets de l'esprit ». Et les auteurs de citer Kant – auteur pratiqué par Gide dans sa jeunesse – qui, dans son Traité de pédagogie (1803), jugeait lui-même que « [r]ien n'affaiblit autant l'esprit aussi bien que le corps de l'homme que le genre de plaisir auquel on se livre sur soi-même ; il est tout à fait contraire à la nature humaine ».

Certes certains passages du Voyage d'Urien portent la marque des discours répressifs et obscurantistes qui tout au long du XIX^{ème} siècle combattent toute forme de sexualité en dehors du mariage et de la procréation. Cependant, Gide ne souhaite pas recourir à une langue scientifique pour évoquer la masturbation. Il rejette en effet le vocabulaire et le style des traités médicaux, et leur préfère un lexique et des images plus littéraires, voire même aux accents poétiques. Il s'agit avant tout de décrire des comportements amoureux, ainsi est-il normal d'avoir recours à un lexique appartenant au champ sémantique de l'amour tel qu'on le trouve dans la littérature. Le défi pour Gide consiste alors à pouvoir dire ces choses si « horriblement difficiles » tout en parvenant à un texte qui réponde à la fois à son exigence d'objectivité totale et à son souci du style et de la langue. C'est ce discours alternatif que cette communication propose d'aborder.

Même si le discours de Gide n'est pas tout à fait dénué de connotations négatives, de réticences et de scrupules, il a le mérite d'exister à une époque où le seul moyen de parler de la masturbation consiste à brandir un arsenal fait de menaces et de condamnations ou règnent l'hypocrisie, les idées préconçues et les opinions les plus rétrogrades. En 1891, Gide ose évoquer ce dont personne n'avait osé parler avant lui, depuis au moins Rousseau et, comme Rousseau, il le fait à partir de lui-même et de sa propre expérience tout en mesurant à l'aune des persécutions et des moqueries subies par son prédécesseur les conséquences qui peuvent découler de son choix et toutes les menaces qui pèsent sur son propre nom et son œuvre. Comme Havelock Ellis enfin – et ce n'est pas là son moindre exploit – Gide aura contribué à sortir l'onanisme du carcan des discours répressifs hérités du XIX^{ème} siècle pour en faire une pratique ordinaire et une des formes de la socialité.

Damian Catani

The French Revolution: Historical necessity or historical evil? Terror and Slavery in Hugo's *Quatre-vingt treize* and Confiant's *L'archet du colonel*.

This paper compares and contrasts two historical novels from different eras, Victor Hugo's *Quatre-vingt treize* (1874), and Creole writer Raphael Confiant's *L'archet du colonel* (1998), in order to show how both portray the historical legacy of the French Revolution in an ambivalent light. Both texts invite the reader to consider how the ideological and political premises upon which the Revolution was built – liberty, equality and fraternity – were severely betrayed and undermined by two historical events: in Hugo's novel, by the Terror of 1793; and in Confiant's account by the re-establishment of slavery in Guadeloupe and Martinique under Napoleon Bonaparte in the early 1800s. This paper argues that there are three compelling reasons why these novels invite us to regard these two events as historical 'evils' which question the moral legitimacy of the French Revolution. First, there is the fact that French Revolutionary ideals were betrayed and contradicted by the very political and economic power structures that were meant to promote and implement them. Thus in Hugo's novel Robespierre's political idealism is shown to degenerate into political repression: namely, the excessive violence of the Terror; whilst Confiant demonstrates in a similar vein how the initial Revolutionary enthusiasm in the French Caribbean for the abolition of slavery was quickly and ruthlessly crushed by Napoleon's colonialist ambition to re-establish this inhumane practice as an indispensable source of economic wealth for France. Secondly, both Confiant and Hugo stress the ongoing topicality and moral pertinence of the historical 'evils' they depict. Rather than presenting the Terror and slavery as isolated, unrepeatable incidents consigned to the past they recontextualise and commemorate them in relation to ethical questions that are relevant to their own historical eras: Hugo was writing largely in response to the excessive Republican violence against the Paris Commune of 1871; Confiant wrote his novel to mark the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of France's belated and definitive abolition of slavery in 1848. Thirdly, the historical 'evils' discussed in both novels are also directly relevant to polemical contemporary debates in the fields of French historiography and Colonialist Studies regarding the moral legitimacy not only of the French Revolution and French Colonialism, but of post-Revolutionary French identity and nationhood itself.

Michelle Cheyne

Storming the Stage in 1829: The Critical Battle over the '*Drame romantique*' in France

In February of 1829, Alexandre Dumas père's *Henri III et sa cour* heralded the triumphant arrival of the *drame romantique* on the stage of the *Comédie-Française*. Critics denounced it as an outright attack on the nation. A few months later, the Romantics appeared on the brink of yet another attack on the French stage when the *Comédie-Française* received Victor Hugo's *Marion de Lorme* on July 14, 1829. This threat was neutralized briefly by the government's ban on the play on August 1st after Hugo's refusal to modify it as the censors' request. Hugo riposted in early 1830, however, with his deliberately provocative *Hernani* on February 10, 1830. Dumas' *Christine* followed on March 30th at the *Odéon*. Hysterical cries of alarms sounded once again signaling the continued threat to France presented by the *drame romantique*. Several months later, revolution toppled Charles X.

Although the *drame romantique* cannot be held responsible for the demise of the Bourbon monarchy, critics deliberately described the advent of this theatrical genre with highly charged military metaphors that linked artistic innovation to hostile political aggression against the French state. They portrayed the theater as a battleground that could, if lost, potentially undermine the stability of the nation. This paper analyzes and summarizes a

cross-section of anti-Romantic reception from 1829 culled from sources that include press reviews and articles, censors' reports, and Hugo's responses to criticism in order to suggest that the military rhetoric used does not reveal a Romantic plot to topple Bourbon régime. On the contrary, I would suggest, these documents expose a ferocious battle that over access to the stage and the economic opportunities it offered writers. Probing the economic dimension often obscured by the association of art and politics in anti-Romantic rhetoric suggests that for the French theater, the significance of 1829 may be found in the demise of Marion de Lorme that articulates a crisis in institutions of patronage that reached a head that year.

Peter Cooke

Counter-criticism: the painter versus the critic in nineteenth-century France

The uneasy relationship between the painter and the art critic in nineteenth-century France found satirical expression in a famous lithograph of 1865, bearing the caption 'La Promenade du critique influent, croquis pris par Daumier'. As Daumier's top-hatted, bespectacled, influential critic walks slowly through the Salon exhibition, solemnly taking notes, bearded artists doff their caps at his approach, paying servile homage to the power of art criticism. For, if the official institution of the Salon exhibition was, as Delacroix put it in 1850, 'le champ de bataille des artistes', the place where 'leur réputation est destinée à grandir', it was the art critics, writing in national newspapers, who, by evaluating contemporary art, exercised the power to make or break reputations, to foster or hamper careers. The power wielded over painters by men of letters did not diminish in the last decades of the century, when the 'dealer-critic' system began to replace the official Salon. How, then, did artists cope with the influential critic? Did they always doff their caps to him? Drawing on a variety of primary sources, this paper will discuss the artist-critic relationship from the point of view of the nineteenth-century painter, focusing on the examples of Girodet, Ingres, Delacroix, Moreau and Gauguin.

After briefly discussing the functions of art criticism in the nineteenth-century art world and painters' views of this polemical genre, the paper will review the defensive and counter-offensive tactics employed by individual painters in the face of the devastating power of the critic, strategies ranging from the passive option of withdrawing from public exhibitions to the high-risk enterprises of libel suits or duels, from attempts to influence critics to the writing of counter-criticism or the issuing of manifestoes designed to educate the public and supplant the role of the critic. It will be seen that, although critics held painters at the mercy of their pens, they did not always have the last laugh.

Andrew Counter

“Sain d'esprit”: The notary as analyst in the fiction of Guy de Maupassant'

The novels and stories of Guy de Maupassant contain a number of peculiar, institutional 'scenes of reading' – the official reading of wills and testaments to the relatives of a deceased person by a notary. Such scenes occur in *Bel-Ami*, *Pierre et Jean*, and in several short stories ('Le Legs', 'L'Héritage', 'Le Testament'). In these texts, the reading of wills invariably confronts the gathered family with shocking truths which have always been available to them (consider the portrait of Jean's biological father on the Roland family mantelpiece), but which they have hitherto resisted. This paper will argue that these scenes

represent a corollary *avant la lettre* of the psychoanalytic situation, in which disavowed knowledge is actualized for the subject by the intervention of the analyst. The paper will extend Pierre Bayard's powerful parallel reading of Maupassant and Freud, to show how Maupassant anticipates Lacan's re-elaboration of the epistemology of psychoanalysis. Vital in this respect will be the Lacanian notion of the *sujet supposé savoir*, the analyst (representative of any institutional figure) whom the analysand credits with 'superior' knowledge, but who in fact merely repeats back to the analysand knowledge he already possesses without knowing he possesses it. In the same way, the notary 'reveals' to his clients information concerning their own family history which is not his (since it comes from the deceased testator), but which he legitimates as 'true', and whose continued disavowal he forbids, by virtue of his own discursive and institutional position.

This correspondence, it will be argued, is in no way coincidental, but is rather indicative of a vital turning point in institutional and discursive hierarchies which occurred in the latter part of the nineteenth century. This turning point might be called a 'hieratic crisis': a moment at which psychiatric science, civil law and religion (in the form of the Spiritualist-inflected Catholicism of the *fin de siècle*) offered competing and yet analogous means of mediating between the world of the mortal subject, and another world 'beyond'. Such a reading will hopefully reveal something of the institutional mechanisms by which knowledge is regulated within a society. Such regulation, it will be argued, never simply represents the repressive functioning of hegemonic discourses, but is on the contrary the necessary condition of sociality itself, a fact which Maupassant's ironic and incisive texts make clear.

Máire F. Cross

L'autorité politique de Flora Tristan: le pouvoir de la femme de lettres

Flora Tristan's tour de France in 1843 and 1844 was her assertion of her authority as a woman activist in a man's political world and a challenge to many in power to react responsibly to working class misery. The political authority she achieved in a short space of time is debateable but her challenge to those in power in the July Monarchy is legendary. I propose to examine Flora Tristan's the journal account of the visits she made to Bishops, Prefects and businessmen as evidence of her discovery of the weight of the establishment but also as evidence of her own political consciousness and of her authority vis à vis her fellow socialists.

Isabelle de Vendevre

Proust et l'Eglise

La question du rapport de Proust à l'église sera abordée sous deux angles, historique et littéraire.

L'étude de la correspondance de Proust au moment de la loi Combes de 1904 interdisant aux membres d'une congrégation religieuse d'enseigner révèle une conception toute en nuances de la place de l'église dans la société contemporaine. Après le traumatisme de l'Affaire Dreyfus, la question des institutions revêt une gravité particulière et Proust compare le rôle respectif dans l'éducation des congrégations et de la presse, au net détriment de la seconde.

En tant qu'institution, l'église constitue un exemple particulièrement intéressant. En effet, à la fois réalité historique et gardienne d'une vérité conçue comme immuable, elle est

soumise au temps et lui échappe tout à la fois. Nous étudierons en particulier le personnage du curé de Combray, dont les étymologies ont fait l'objet d'une étude par Antoine Compagnon. Dans le prolongement de ces travaux, nous proposerons une interprétation du sens et de la fonction du personnage du curé et de ses étymologies, mais aussi de son effacement ultérieur dans *La Recherche*.

Le rapport de Proust à l'église, placé sous le double éclairage de la correspondance et de la fiction apparaît comme le creuset d'une conception nouvelle de la vérité, qui passe par le crible historique et en ressort profondément transformée.

Anne-Emmanuelle Demartini

Le pouvoir de la représentation : écriture pittoresque et construction de la nation dans la série provinciale des *Français peints par eux-mêmes*

Véritable monument de l'édition romantique illustrée, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes*, édité par Curmer en 1840-1842, présentent, sous la forme du tableau de mœurs, une galerie de types contemporains, en 8 volumes, dont les 5 premiers, peignant des types parisiens, sont bien connus des spécialistes du XIXe siècle. Les 3 derniers volumes, consacrés aux types provinciaux et coloniaux, depuis « l'habitant de Versailles » jusqu'à « l'habitant du Sénégal », ont été peu étudiés et c'est à eux qu'est consacrée la communication ici proposée. Dans la perspective d'une réflexion sur les usages historiques de documents littéraires, nous voudrions proposer une interprétation politique d'un texte littéraire, envisagé comme une représentation d'un rapport au pouvoir. Il s'agira de montrer comment, dans une époque travaillée par la redéfinition des liens entre le local et le national et par la question des institutions représentatives, la description pittoresque des identités locales, sous un abord superficiel, se charge d'enjeux politiques. L'application de l'esthétique pittoresque au projet d'un auto-portrait de la nation introduit dans la représentation une tension entre diversité et unité, entre particularisme et universalisme, tension constitutive de l'histoire de la constitution de la nation. Quel regard porter sur les identités locales ? Entre nostalgie pour la diversité qui s'efface et optimisme intégrateur, entre défiance face au pouvoir central et aspiration à la fusion des ethnies et des races, *Les Français peints par eux-mêmes* s'attaquent à la question des modalités de la construction nationale. Comment faire la nation ? Par la représentation, répond l'ouvrage qui met en œuvre une solution descriptive et pittoresque, le « type » s'imposant comme un instrument de normalisation des identités et comme la clef d'une représentation démocratique de la société. Parallèlement à l'institution de la démocratie juridique et en l'absence de suffrage universel, au temps de la monarchie censitaire, n'y a-t-il pas ce qu'on pourrait appeler la démocratie pittoresque, dont Félix Mornand, auteur de l'article sur « L'Algérien français », trouve la formule : « Tous les Français sont égaux devant le type » ?

Lisa Downing

Institutionalizing Unreason: The Nightmare, Alienism, and Masculinity

In nineteenth-century France, the burgeoning science of alienism (the pre-cursor of modern psychiatry), led by Pinel's reforms and Esquirol's diagnostics, turned the phenomenon of the nightmare from a supernatural event (nocturnal visitation by a sexualised demon) into a clinical disorder (a physiological and psychological manifestation of unease). Simultaneously, in the male-narrated literature of the fantastic by

Nodier, Gautier and Merimée, the nightmare offers a privileged narrative device for exploring an obsession with reason and unreason; power and the loss of power; the threat of sexuality, and particularly, the nineteenth century's preoccupation with reason as masculine. As a disorder that could attack men as well as women; and one associated with sexual passivity, occurring as it does during sleep, the nightmare as clinical entity threatens to taint nineteenth-century men with excess, weakness and unreason, all characteristics associated with the feminine "maladie du siècle", hysteria. It effectively troubles stereotypes and cultural values of men as supremely rational and conscious beings in "possession" of themselves. Thus, an analysis of the institutionalization of the nightmare allows us to explore cultural attitudes towards the "sleep of reason" and its gendering in the work of both scientists and literary writers of the epoch.

Michael Finn

The Power of the Paranormal: Doctors, Scientists and the Beyond at the Fin-de-Siècle

Although both the government and medical establishment of the Third Republic were involved in a range of efforts to displace religious teaching and its agents from the education and medico-health systems, many doctors and scientists felt, as one critic has observed, "a nostalgia for a form of knowledge that transcended science" (Jacqueline Carroy, "Playing with Signatures", 221). Indeed, scientific advances and the discoveries of psychologists were themselves responsible for a leap of interest in the paranormal. The well-publicized demonstrations of the Paris and Nancy schools of experimental hypnotism alerted the public to the potential existence of dual personalities, to the possibility of mind control from the outside and to the intimidating potentialities of the unconscious. Inventions such as the telephone, telegraph and phonograph provided scientific templates, according to some, for telepathy and spirit communication. The apparent successes of mediums, sometimes in conditions of strict scientific control, represented a further encouragement for the religious-minded and "spiritistes" who believed in communication with the souls of the dead.

This paper will examine the impact of reflections on the supernatural and the paranormal in the writings of four scientific men, the astronomer Camille Flammarion, the physiologist and Nobel prize winner Dr. Charles Richet, the anthropologist Cesare Lombroso and the hysteria specialist Dr. Gérard Encausse, better known as Papus. In the process, the paper will provide a summary assessment of the influence, on late 19th century French society, of the spiritist movement, mediums, and the rebirth of the Ordre kabbalistique de la Rose-Croix.

Ben Fisher

Alfred Jarry and the Army: Insubordination, Humour and Ambiguity

In the year marking the centenary of his death, it is appropriate to revisit and re-evaluate aspects of the work of Alfred Jarry which have long been subject to relatively inflexible interpretations. A case in point is his first novel, *Les Jours et les Nuits* (1897), in which the first structured presentation of *la 'pataphysique* is made, against the narrative backdrop of

the central figure's military service. From provincial barracks to Parisian military hospital, the experiences and characters are clearly based on Jarry's own truncated service in 1894-5 – which nonetheless represents something of a gap in his biography, largely reconstituted from fragmentary or sentimentalised later accounts. The representation of the army in the novel is noted mostly for its condemnation of self-perpetuating institutional imbecility and cruelty, which has literary debts (most explicitly to Georges Darien's *Biribi*) as well as drawing on first-hand experience. Yet the military sections of the novel are also suffused with more sympathetic and humane portrayals, which are at odds with Jarry's increasing denial of these qualities to his own self-portrait, and which is only partly reliant on the dry, paradoxical humour which he salvages from aspects of military life. An understanding of this more complex representation can also help to inform readings of later manifestations of Jarry's ongoing fascination with the military, as witnessed notably in the play *Ubu enchaîné* and in his journalism.

Janine Gallant

Dénonciation de l'institutionnalisation de l'art : deux figures d'artistes dans l'œuvre romanesque de Stendhal

Dans une chronique journalistique, Stendhal tonne contre le climat institutionnel de son siècle : « Je crains fort qu'à l'avenir la politique ne devienne le vampire de la littérature ». De fait, nombreux sont les exemples dans les essais et la correspondance de l'auteur qui montrent que, pour lui, une incompatibilité grandissante s'établit entre le pouvoir politique et l'art véritable. La « fièvre politique qui rend inaccessible à tous les arts » clame-t-il encore dans ses carnets de voyage. Or, il semble qu'au moment d'écrire ses derniers romans, Stendhal trouve le moyen de se servir de son propre art pour dénoncer cette situation. En effet, il met en scène deux personnages artistes. D'abord, le poète Ferrante Palla dans la *Chartreuse de Parme*, personnage qui semble au départ ne remplir qu'une fonction instrumentale au sein de l'intrigue, mais dont Balzac lui-même ne manquait pas de signaler l'importance, dans son célèbre article sur le roman de Stendhal. Puis, le peintre Féder, dans le roman du même nom que Stendhal rédige l'année suivante, mais qui est resté inachevé. Nous essaierons de montrer que, lorsque mises en parallèle, ces deux figures d'artistes permettent de faire ressortir le danger que peut représenter l'institutionnalisation des arts. Ainsi, Palla, dont les vers sont « égaux ou supérieurs à tout ce qu'on a fait de plus beau en Italie depuis deux siècles » et dont le travail artistique est « aussi beau que le Dante », est condamné à mort par le pouvoir politique de sa société et doit vivre en fugitif, constamment toisé sur son passage par des personnages qui le considèrent comme « un peu fou ». Ferrante Palla est donc l'incarnation parfaite de l'artiste marginalisé par les institutions. Au contraire, Féder, qui n'a « aucun talent » et peint en « outrant les défauts des modèles », fait son entrée dans une exposition au Louvre et recevra même « la croix d'honneur, en sa qualité de peintre de premier ordre ». Se pliant aux modes et apprenant à jouer un rôle conforme à l'image que la société bourgeoise se fait de l'artiste, il gravira également très rapidement les échelons de la hiérarchie sociale parisienne. Nous voudrions donc analyser comment Stendhal se sert de ces deux personnages pour exposer la situation difficile que présente la société post-révolutionnaire pour l'artiste devant s'épanouir sans devenir l'esclave des institutions qui cherchent à contrôler l'art et qui, en dernière instance, risquent de l'étouffer.

Lucy Garnier

“La femme par M. de Stdl” : discours médical et sexualité féminine

Dans *L'Histoire de la sexualité* Michel Foucault remet en cause ce qu'il nomme « l'hypothèse répressive » selon laquelle le sexe aurait été réprimé à partir de l'époque moderne. Il affirme qu'au contraire la sexualité est le produit, et ce surtout aux XVIIIe et XIXe siècles, d'une prolifération de discours institutionnels destinés à prendre en charge le sexe, discours qui « en parle[nt] toujours » mais « en le faisant valoir comme *le secret*. »³ Parmi les discours en question, le discours médical qui procède à ce que Foucault appelle « l'hystérisation du corps de la femme »⁴ nous intéressera particulièrement.

La question qui nous concernera sera celle de l'influence exercée par ce discours médical sur la conception que se fait Stendhal de la sexualité féminine. On retracera alors dans un premier temps les influences en question à travers des textes de Cabanis et Roussel en particulier. On verra ainsi que les écrits de ces médecins-idéologues confirment les propos de Foucault en montrant une vision du corps féminin « saturé de sexualité. »⁵ Leurs propos réduisent également la femme à une téléologie de la maternité où la sexualité féminine est récupérée et circonscrite par la fonction reproductrice.

En se penchant dans un deuxième temps sur les manuscrits de *Lucien Leuwen*, on verra que les annotations marginales témoignent de la manière dont ces discours médicaux sous-tendent la création littéraire et les personnages féminins de la fiction. Le dialogue instauré entre le texte destiné à la publication et les *marginalias* que Stendhal déclare être « *for me* » est également à mettre en rapport avec les propos de Foucault concernant le « non-dit ».

En revanche, on suggérera par la suite que – par le biais d'une approche culturaliste de l'amour – Stendhal réussit à dépasser en partie le pouvoir déterminant du discours médical. Là où, à la suite d'Helvétius, le travail de Cabanis, par exemple, mettait de côté le phénomène de l'amour pour se focaliser uniquement sur la fonction reproductrice du sexe, Beyle choisit pour sa part de faire tout le contraire, et de développer la question sociale de l'amour, et donc par extension de la sexualité. En effet, dans certaines parties de son essai *De l'amour* ainsi que dans certains aspects de sa fiction, on peut constater que Stendhal dépasse ses maîtres à penser.

Elisabeth Gerwin

Power in the City: Balzac's flâneur

Walter Benjamin's well-known characterisation of Paris as the capital of the nineteenth century reads like an image from Balzac. These two writers, separated by a hundred years, share a certain understanding of Paris as the centre of power and of culture during the intervening century. Arguably, Benjamin's political essays tease out threads that run through Balzac's literary work: for instance, the disquieting sense that Paris manifested the century's growing preoccupation with a newly-liberated wealth, and with the changing structures for the disposal of that wealth. Paris was becoming, in the early half of the century, the centre and even the institutional nexus of money in an increasingly urbanised

³ Michel Foucault, *Histoire de la sexualité I : la volonté de savoir*, [Paris], Editions Gallimard, 1976, p.49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p.137.

⁵ *Ibid.*

culture (one thinks of Napoleon Bonaparte's founding of the Banque de France in Paris in 1800). Monetary power was also being reincarnated as buying power, through the gradual dissolution of an aristocratic affiliation between money and land, in favour of a more transient wealth bound up in the marketplace. The result, according to Benjamin, was a new drive to direct and exploit fetishism of the commodity within the arcades; and for Balzac, the new social power dynamic was being structured around a similar drive: the frenetic and vortex-like circulation of desire.

"Toute passion à Paris se résout par deux termes : or et plaisir,"⁶ Balzac famously declares near the opening of *La Fille aux yeux d'or*—a preamble dedicated to depicting this all-consuming drive to consume. Yet the text that unfolds will remain true to Balzac's particular penchant for seeking at once to prove and to disprove his own categorical declarations. The desire for gold and pleasure that drives the machine of Paris will also, therefore, have its exception: the flâneur. Unaffected by time or money, unconstrained by space or property, the flâneur throws the dominant power dynamic of desire into relief by remaining abstract and aloof from it. As Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson writes, "it is a social state that offers the inestimable, and paradoxical, privilege of moving about the city without losing one's individuality."⁷ And if, as she goes on to say, "the honor of transforming the flâneur into a complete urban personage rightfully goes to Balzac" (*Ibid.* 90), it is in his novella of 1834–5 that Balzac seeks to present the most self-contained of flâneurs, in the character of Henri de Marsay. In this ambiguously gendered and self-sufficient being who, as James Creech puts it, "is complete,"⁸ Balzac seems to wish to depict a desireless subject, the individual perfectly exempt from the power structures that propel the urban motion around him. At the same time, Balzac chooses to set *La Fille aux yeux d'or* in 1814, at a moment when the institutions of the recently-fallen empire are being shaken; and Henri, himself a destabilising character, will inevitably be drawn into the tumultuous circulation of "l'or et le plaisir," though in unusual ways. How and to what end Henri succeeds or fails as a representation of the epitomised flâneur, who stands ethically and materially apart from the power dynamic of desire in the modern urban centre, will be the subject of the proposed paper.

Barbara Giraud

Du déraisonnable à l'irraisonnable: *La Fille Elisa* (1877) d'Edmond de Goncourt

A travers *La fille Elisa*, roman d'Edmond de Goncourt après la mort de son frère Jules, cette communication propose d'analyser tout d'abord le discours médical qui apparaît en creux et de le relier au discours sur l'institution pénitentiaire qu'Edmond a voulu mettre en évidence dans ce roman considéré par Ricatte comme un 'roman à thèse'. L'auteur a délibérément entrepris d'y exposer pour les dénoncer les pratiques carcérales de l'époque, notamment celle très en vogue du système d'Auburn qui condamne le/la condamné(e) au silence absolu. Edmond y explore l'effet destructeur de l'incarcération sur l'être à la fois physiologique et psychologique. Je m'attacherai à montrer comment ces nouveaux procédés sont exposés dans *La Fille Elisa* où la représentation de la folie permet à l'auteur

⁶ Honoré de Balzac *La Fille aux yeux d'or* (Paris : Garnier Frères, 1966), p. 383.

⁷ Priscilla Parkhurst Ferguson *Paris as Revolution : Writing the Nineteenth-Century City* (Berkeley and Los Angeles : U. of California Press, 1994), p. 80.

⁸ James Creech "Castration and Desire in *Sarrasine* and *The Girl with the Golden Eyes* : A Gay Perspective" (in Antel, Martine and Dominique Fisher [eds]. *The Rhetoric of the Other : Lesbian and Gay Strategies of Resistance in French and Francophone Contexts*. New Orleans : U.P. of the South, Inc., 2002), p. 56.

de dénoncer un système qui, de la psychiatrie naissante à la façon dont la société gère collectivement la folie fait de cette dernière une subversion de l'ordre social.

Cette analyse se situe à l'intersection des champs juridique et médical dans la deuxième moitié du 19^e siècle et est éclairée par l'analyse que Foucault expose dans *Surveiller et Punir* (1975). Le philosophe y évoque en effet les premiers procès qui ont accordé une valeur à la représentation médicale scientifique et plus particulièrement psychiatrique dans leur sanction juridique. De ce véritable glissement qui s'est effectué en matière d'application de la justice à ce moment précis de l'histoire puisque « un savoir, des techniques et un discours scientifique s'entrelacent avec la pratique du pouvoir de punir » (*Surveiller et Punir*, p24), Edmond de Goncourt a fait la matière même de son roman.

L'institution médicale est-elle complémentaire ou antithèse de l'institution pénitentiaire dans ce cas? Double difficulté ici en ce que, d'une part elle épargne une « malade mentale » de la condamnation à mort, en se basant sur le fait qu'on ne peut être fou et coupable (Code 1810, art 64) et que d'autre part, elle met Elisa dans une institution qui lui retire son humanité et par conséquent, au final, la fait mourir.

Susanna Goldschmidt

'Un homme qui se charge d'aller toujours en ligne droite [est] un niais qui croit à l'infaillibilité': The (dis)empowerment of monomania in Balzac's *Comédie humaine*

This paper examines the relationship, proposed by Fredric Jameson and Jan Goldstein, between ambition and monomania in the context of the *Comédie humaine*. It argues that, despite the apparent equivalence between the two, the inflexibility of monomaniacal obsession in fact runs counter to the arriviste's objective of *parvenir*. The monomaniac may achieve fortune, but he is destined to ignominy on the social stage.

The paper begins by situating monomania in relation to Balzac's wider project of depicting social 'types', by exploring manifestations of monomania in *La Cousine Bette*, *Le Chef-d'œuvre inconnu* and *Eugénie Grandet*. It discusses the Balzacian conception of 'vital force' with reference to the link posited by Christopher Prendergast between monomania and libido, and proposes a reappraisal of this link in the light of the Lacanian concepts of *jouissance* and the symptom.

The second part of the paper turns to the question of gender. It explores the differing fortunes of the male and the female monomaniac in the *Comédie humaine* and relates this to the distinctly gendered concept of 'desire' in Balzac's œuvre. It proposes, ultimately, a reformulation of the Balzacian triad of will, power and knowledge, demonstrating that for monomaniacs, as for women, *vouloir* and *savoir* come at the price of *pouvoir*.

Rae Beth Gordon

"The Power of the Parisian Music-Hall in the European Imaginary"

The role of the music-hall in the construction of national identity was a powerful one in the eyes of France's neighbors, but equally within the French population in ways that will be analyzed in this paper. One of the images that was constructed between 1870 and 1900 on music-hall stages and in the iconography that accompanied the spectacles was the persona and the body of La Parisienne, placed in close relation to the cancan dancer. The image of the music-hall spectator was also used to amplify theories of degeneration in medicine, in

crowd psychology, and in literature. I will draw on Ribot, Tarde, Le Bon, les Goncourt and Huysmans.

Finally, the very powerful influence of this institution on avant-garde aesthetics is enormous. I have discussed this aspect of the popular spectacle in previous work on early cinema, but here I will extend this discussion to include Alfred Jarry, Futurism, the Ballets Suédois, and Artaud.

Wendelin Guentner

The Power of the Press: The Journalist as Memorialist and Moralist in Jules Claretie's « La Vie à Paris » (1880-1913)

Jules Claretie, the prolific late 19th-century author of fiction (narrative and theatrical) and of volumes of history, served as the Director of the Comédie Française from 1885 to 1913; he was inducted into the Academy in 1888. However, Claretie was also a journalist. He began his career as a theater critic, a function he assumed at *l'Opinion nationale*, *Le Soir* and *La Presse*. He wrote for yet other newspapers, such as *Le Figaro* and *L'illustration*, but he is perhaps best remembered for the series of articles he wrote, from 1880 to 1913, for *Le Temps*. Claretie imagines his journalistic role in these articles, all entitled "La Vie à Paris" and which were later gathered into yearly volumes of the same name--as that of "memorialist." He characterizes himself as a historian of the contemporary scene, one who attempts to record Parisian life at the very moment the present is being consigned to the past. My goal in this paper is to examine the power of the press--and of technology--in late 19th-century France through the prism of Claretie's series of articles, "La Vie à Paris."

The many changes in the way journalism was practiced from the early to the late 19th-century forms a common theme of this journalistic corpus. The first part of my paper will examine the way Claretie sees technology revolutionizing the newspaper business, resulting in the expectation of ever more rapid reporting. This was also the result, according to Claretie, of the introduction of new journalistic media--photography, cinematography, and the phonograph--all of which rivaled the written word in the attempt to memorialize the present. I will then examine Claretie's observations on the power journalists wield over society, influencing events through their commentary and "making" the reputations of men. At the close of the first part of my paper I'll address the ways in which Claretie sees the modern institution of the press was exerting power over journalists, often reducing them to a cog in an ever-accelerating machine.

In the second part of the proposed paper I examine how Claretie's practice of journalism allows him to extend beyond the role of memorialist to that of moralist. In particular, I consider his accounts of how advances in technology were modifying habits of sociability and politeness, even putting into question the very notion of human subjectivity. In general, Claretie held that even when mores are turned topsy-turvy, technology is beneficial to the majority of people in society; indeed, he goes so far as to claim that all inventors are philanthropists. However, he worried that reporters were becoming ever more indiscrete, invading people's privacy in ways that challenged long-standing notions of privacy, putting into question the boundaries which traditionally separated public and personal space. He also expresses concern about what he sees is a gradual dehumanization in the society of his day. Thus, he fears that the rapid extension of the telephone was reducing humans to numbers, risking what he calls the disappearance of "personality." Claretie anticipates a day when house work would be done not by a faithful domestic

servant, but merely by pushing a button. And he wonders how mechanization will affect the morality of war, and whether a soldier pushing a button to launch a torpedo will have any consciousness of the death and destruction he has caused.

I argue that Claretie's meditations on the ways technology might cause modern society to revert to a kind of "antique barbarism" illustrate a journalistic practice in which the reporter is not only a source of information, but also of wisdom: memorialist, he becomes a moralist. Through his conceptualization and practice of journalism in the "La Vie à Paris" articles, Claretie illustrates how the power of the press can be transformed from something merely informative--and at worst manipulative--into something both enlightening and profoundly humanizing.

Cassandra Hamrick

“Beyond Institutions: in Search of *le souffle moderne* in Gautier’s *Salon de 1844*”*

1844 was a rather lackluster year for the annual artistic Salon in Paris. After years of having systematically excluded works that challenged the academic status quo, the jury seemed to have reversed its course and been surprisingly indulgent to the artists submitting in 1844. However, while the number of works exhibited was higher than ever before, some of the most celebrated artists of the time, including Delacroix and Ingres, were conspicuously absent. The violent and tumultuous paintings which had been shown just five or six years earlier had given way to calmer palettes, and visitors to the exhibition were struck by “un certain air de sagesse”.

Yet if the break with the reigning artistic power structures was not very apparent at the Salon itself that year, signs that a new artistic dynamic was already in motion can be detected in the art reviews of the time. In his own *Salon de 1844*, which was read by Baudelaire, Théophile Gautier responds to the humdrum conformity of many of the exhibiting artists by proposing to bring a new level of dynamism to art at a time when artistic formulas of the past are proving inadequate in conveying the modern ideal (“cet idéal flottant dans l’âme et dans l’esprit de tous”). Rather than a diatribe against the inadequacies and injustices of the jury system, Gautier’s *Salon* invites artists to reach beyond the prescriptions of academic institutions and to embrace the diversity of modern life as a rich source of inspiration, while confronting head on worn-out formalistic distinctions such as line and colour and the *otherness* of sculpture as a fundamentally different artistic “act” from painting.

*I am currently editing Gautier’s *Salon de 1844* for publication in the *Œuvres complètes de Gautier* (Champion).

Susan Harrow

Elisions and Repetitions: Zola and the Institution of Reading

The revolution in critical thought that has shaped literary studies over the last fifty years has provided an array of theoretical approaches and, in the best cases, proffered lessons in critical discernment. Moving beyond questions of the theoretical approach which we might deploy on a particular Zola novel (genetic, psychoanalytical, deconstructionist, feminist), this paper poses a simpler and more fundamental question, one which has little to do with

critical doxa and much more to do with readerly temperament, with contingency and with corporeality.

The question at the centre of this paper is: how do we read Zola? Indeed, we might even ponder how, in a postmodern, or post-postmodern context, we can begin to read novels whose characteristic features of *lisibilité*, redundancy, and repetition seem out of joint with prevailing cultural assumptions and dispositions.

The problem of how to read Zola is raised by Barthes in *Le Plaisir du texte* (1973), a text which itself exposes the irresistibility of instituting (or institutionalising) reading practices. Writing at the centre of *nouveau roman* and *cinéma d'auteurs* experimentalism, alert to the exquisite pressures of the *texte scriptible*, Barthes envisions the Zolian text as the literary equivalent of a *somnifère*. The Zolian text – the archetypal *texte lisible* – has to be managed, *dosé*: try to read it all and the book will fall from your hands, Barthes warns. And he prescribes reader-generated elisions, leaps and contractions as the only viable reading method.

For Barthes, Zola's repetitions are a sign of a diminished or flawed style: speed-reading is the antidote. Drawing on Deleuze (*Différence et répétition*) and, primarily, on Mallarmé's dual method for reading Zola (at least, in relation to *Son Excellence Eugène Rougon*), I ask whether we might begin to construct Zola's iterative structures differently, alert to the productive pliancy of rhythm. In proleptic response to Barthes, might Mallarmé offer at once a more capacious and a more nuanced method for capturing the oscillations of Zola's writing, and allying the rhythms of texts to the corporeal and contingent experience of modern readers?

Catherine Hewitt

'The Most Public of Private Rites: The Wedding Ceremony in 19th-century French Literature and Art'

Martine Segalen has been one of the most recent scholars to remind us that marriage in mid-19th-century France was characterised by tension and debate, as new ideals began to enter into conflict with the previously accepted norms of behaviour. Building on this thesis, my paper focuses on the wedding ceremony as the moment when these tensions are perhaps seen most vividly. From the debate which pitched the marriage of reason against the marriage of inclination in the context of the changing role of the family, and the hotly debated issue of divorce which would result in its reintroduction in 1884, to the broader struggles between the Church and the State, between public and private, the wedding ceremony can be seen as the culminating point at which all these concerns came together. My paper demonstrates how visual and textual representations of wedding ceremonies created in the second half of the 19th-century encapsulate the contradictions and tensions surrounding marriage at this time, and in so doing, provide an invaluable insight into artists' and writers' perception of the institution of marriage and its cultural representation. Anne Martin-Fugier has described the 19th-century wedding ceremony as 'probably the most public of private rites', thus highlighting the inherent capacity of the wedding to catalyse the interplay of some key, mutually dependent binaries. As a rite of passage, the wedding marks both a beginning and an ending, an opening and a closure, simultaneously consolidating existing family ties while forging new ones. I argue that it is precisely the transitional nature of the wedding ceremony that makes it particularly sensitive to these

tensions and thus turn it as a theme into a powerful vehicle for social commentary. In this respect, the fact that the transition in question was heavily ritualised (as Martin-Fugier observes, 'everything was codified') is not without significance. Through a detailed analysis of the presentation of wedding ceremonies and the rituals attached to them in novels such as Zola's *L'Assommoir* (1877) and Droz's *Monsieur, Madame et Bébé* (1866) and in a selection of paintings to include Norbert Goeneutte's *Le Premier accroc* (1884), I show how the degree to which artists and writers embrace or subvert the traditional ritual of the wedding ceremony confers upon the works a sociopolitical function. This allows us to gauge the part which art and literature played in the wider debate surrounding marriage and the family and its role at this time. I consequently argue that such works should not be seen as merely reflecting or responding to social discourse, but rather as themselves a component part of this discourse, and that art and literature demand to be seen as the primary cultural forum in which concerns regarding marriage were played out.

Jim Hiddleston

Mystification and the Mysteries of Motive: some thoughts on Augustinian theology and interpretative undecidability in Baudelaire

Baudelaire criticism has come a long way over the past 20 years. Thanks to a more acute understanding of Romantic irony and postmodernism, the aesthetic and moral certainties of earlier commentators have given place to a critical discourse marked by a proliferation of speculative and often highly ingenious interpretations, the result of which is to transform his poetry into an abyss of undecidability, the only certainty of which is uncertainty. The authoritative has been replaced by the tentative and heuristic, frequently preceded by such guarded *paratonnerres* as 'it might be that', and 'it is possible or conceivable that', producing less a sense of exhilaration than of critical stasis. I suggest that an understanding of the mystery of motive in the light of those parts of Christian doctrine that Baudelaire never doubted, namely his lived experience of an Augustinian imperfection and the doctrine of original sin, can bring some element of clarity and certainty to his elusive texts.

Dominique Jullien

“Travestissement et contre-pouvoir dans le roman populaire”

Le motif du prince déguisé, dérivé de l'orientalisme et des *Mille et Une Nuits* (le calife Haroun al-Raschid s'y promène déguisé en marchand dans les rues de Bagdad à la recherche d'aventures) sert dans le roman populaire à proposer un modèle de contre-pouvoir qui subvertit les institutions en place. Dans les romans d'Alexandre Dumas père, un prince déguisé en homme du peuple (Salvator le Commissionnaire, alias le prince Conrad de Valgeneuse, héros des *Mohicans de Paris*) ou un homme du peuple déguisé en prince (le comte de Monte-Cristo, nabab venu d'Orient, en réalité le marin Edmond Dantès) utilisent leur travestissement pour compenser l'insuffisance de la justice institutionnelle. Monte-Cristo, tel un despote oriental, a sa propre justice, et vante la justice barbare qui se pratique encore en Italie (à laquelle il soustrait néanmoins un des bandits à sa solde à la faveur du Carnaval, qui autorise une mascarade généralisée). Il se sert aussi d'institutions officielles telles que la Chambre des Députés, la Bourse, la Cour d'assises, pour mettre en place sa vengeance privée contre les puissants personnages qui l'ont trahi autrefois. Haydée, la princesse des *Mille et Une Nuits* que Monte-Cristo a sauvée de l'esclavage, apparaît à la Chambre dans son costume oriental pour accuser de

trahison le comte de Morcerf. C'est en manipulant à son profit les mécanismes boursiers que le héros parvient à ruiner son ennemi Danglars. Et c'est en travestissant l'imposteur Benedetto en prince italien qu'il amène la chute du malhonnête procureur Villefort. La justice institutionnelle, le pouvoir officiel, étant profondément corrompus, seul le travestissement du héros peut démasquer les imposteurs au pouvoir. Dans les *Mohicans de Paris*, le recours au travestissement (Salvator le prince républicain se déguise en prolétaire), au Carnaval (le roman s'ouvre en plein Mardi-Gras) et au théâtre (le signal du soulèvement révolutionnaire est donné par le Pierrot de la farce), en multipliant les centres de contre-pouvoir, contribue à subvertir le pouvoir en place et à fomentier la révolution de 1830 qui triomphe à la fin du roman. En revanche, dans les *Mystères de Paris*, le personnage du prince déguisé (le héros Rodolphe, travesti en ouvrier, est en réalité le souverain de la principauté du Gerolstein), s'il aide à compenser l'imperfection des institutions judiciaires—punition des personnages criminels, mais aussi récompense des personnages vertueux qui n'est pas sans rappeler le principe du prix Montyon—et à équilibrer les inégalités de fortune, le fait cependant sans menacer les pouvoirs en place. La scène du “carnaval révolutionnaire” où la populace déguisée attaque le carrosse du héros montre même la révolution sous un jour uniformément néfaste: le déguisement princier est alors à mettre du côté non de la révolution mais du réformisme social.

Leonard R. Koos

Razzia in Stone: Building Colonial Algiers, 1830-1900

The 1830 Conquest of Algiers by the French initiated an ongoing consideration of the cultural dimensions and ramifications of the process of military occupation and colonization in the nineteenth century French empire. This paper proposes to examine how urban planning and architecture in colonial Algiers negotiated in space the development and evolution of French colonial policy during the period. I will begin by considering the first phase of the process of colonization – that of military conquest and occupation – and detail how French demolitions and appropriations of indigenous spaces (in particular, local mosques and *marabout* shrines) in the 1830s were designed to pacify spatially the local population through violence, comparable to the military strategy of *razzia* implemented by General Bugeaud and others during the 1840s. Next, my paper will analyze how, from the 1840s onward, the use of French architectural models in the reconfigured lower part of the Algiers enacted a spatial analogue to the civilizing mission which had definitively emerged in metropolitan discourse during this period as a rhetorical justification for the colonial enterprise in Algeria. Finally, I will examine the gradual decline of assimilationist architectural styles in Algiers in the second half of the nineteenth century and the rise of appropriative imitations of North African ornamental styles (known as *arabesque*) which corresponded to the “separate by unequal” dictates of the colonial policy of association which had asserted itself by the 1890s and inaugurated a much more insidiously clandestine exercise of colonial power over signifying architectural traditions of the colonized. Drawing on a variety of written and visual sources, my paper will demonstrate how the evolution of the politics of space in colonial Algiers provided a compelling theoretical and practical blueprint for colonial construction to be replicated throughout the French empire.

Elisabeth Ladenson Not Balzac

By his death in 1850 Balzac had long been established as France's preeminent novelist, his brand of "realism" the standard format of the novel. At the end of the century this was still (or again) the case, in part as a result of Zola's casting of the genealogy of 19th-century French fiction as a more or less direct lineage beginning with La Comédie humaine and leading to his own naturalistic methodology as showcased in the Rougon-Macquart cycle. It is therefore unsurprising if early 20th-century novelists tended to take Balzac as the standard against which they measured and defined themselves; after all, late 20th-century novelists (e.g. the *nouveau romanciers*) and critics (e.g. structuralists) were still grappling in various ways with the Balzacian legacy.

This paper is about the literary fortunes of Balzac in early 20th-century France; more specifically, it deals with some of the ways early 20th-century novelists defined themselves against his example in terms of gender and sexuality. I will focus on two instances of this phenomenon in particular, both dating from around 1910. In a much-cited notebook entry dealing with the vocabulary problems posed by the representation of male homosexuals in the novel he was attempting to frame, Proust complains that while *tante* (which appears in Splendeurs et misères des courtisanes) is the term that would best fit his purposes, he cannot use it: "n'étant pas Balzac je suis obligé de me contenter d'inverti." At around the same time, in La Vagabonde, Colette's protagonist-narrator, Renée Néré, a self-proclaimed "femme de lettres qui a mal tourné," laments that "il faut trop de temps pour écrire!," adding: "et puis, je ne suis pas Balzac, moi... Le conte fragile que j'édifie s'émiette quand le fournisseur sonne, quand l'avoué téléphone," etc.

These two examples, I will argue, are indicative of an interesting subcategory of a more general "not Balzac" phenomenon in the 20th century, according to which the paradigms of Balzacian "realism" are called into question in terms of their relevance in the new century. To be sure, Proust and Colette are not quite referring to the same thing when they complain of not being Balzac. Proust presumably means both (modestly) that he is not a great writer and therefore cannot be forgiven use of the term *tante*; and more pragmatically, that he is not a notorious heterosexual and therefore (paradoxically) cannot venture use of such a code-word. "Balzac," in this context, would seem to signify both "great writer" and "great heterosexual." For Colette, not being Balzac in the context of La Vagabonde appears to mean also (again, modestly) not making claims to being a great writer, but in this case specifically in the sense of not enjoying the conditions of being able to try to become one: that is, not being a man with an independent income (Renée also endows her ex-husband with a "balzacien génie du mensonge"). To this extent she appears to equate balzacianism with male privilege, elaborating something along the lines of what Virginia Woolf is talking about in A Room of One's Own.

So far so good; my question is, why Balzac? In Proust's case the answer would seem to be fairly clear: Balzac is his obvious precedent in the representation of what came to be called homosexuality. For Colette, however, who later stated that "aucune oeuvre romanesque ne se compare à celle de Balzac," the latter is a less evident fall-guy if the point is socio-economic freedom, since Flaubert, for instance, with his independent income which allowed him to spend years, if necessary, searching for the *mot juste*, would seem to provide a more ready counterexample, while Balzac was much more beholden to the sort of economic concerns in question in her narrative. What I would like to argue is that for these writers, and even against all evidence, Balzac provides an all-purpose paradigm of the privileged 19th-century writer unburdened by 20th-century complications of gender and sexuality, that is, a fantasy of the last unproblematic "great writer." For Proust and Colette,

as I will attempt to demonstrate, Balzac is the great pre-lapsarian 19th-century author able to deal with questions of gender and sexuality while remaining exempt from the problems implied by their representation. “Not being Balzac,” therefore, comes to signify the inability to accede to a pre-20th-century view of matters in which gender and sexuality speak themselves freely in something resembling a pre-Foucauldianism *avant la lettre*.

Alison Lam

L’arriviste et la *Vie française* : L’ambition et le pouvoir de la presse dans *Bel-Ami*

Avant l’invention de la radio et de la télévision, la force de la presse régnait sans concurrence. La seule façon de s’informer des nouvelles, le journal représentait une source d’information, et donc de pouvoir, incontestée. En même temps, il existait une lutte féroce entre les différents journaux pour obtenir la plus grande assistance possible ; à cette fin, les journalistes s’efforçaient d’écrire des articles étonnants et attirants. Sacrifiant la vérité pour le sensationnel, les reporters et les rédacteurs écrivaient dans le but de plaire aux lecteurs et non pas de les mettre au courant.

Pendant cette même époque, on voit pour la première fois l’arriviste, un type prêt à tout faire pour réussir dans la société ; conduit par la soif du pouvoir, il se sert de tous moyens disponibles pour atteindre ses buts. La presse, une des institutions les plus puissantes, devient pour lui un outil indispensable dans sa quête du succès. Avec une assistance immense, le journal lui offre un forum pour ses manipulations et l’aide à gagner du pouvoir politique et social. Un opportuniste sans scrupule, il exploite la concurrence entre les journaux et la transforme en arme dans sa poursuite de la suprématie.

Étant journaliste lui-même, Guy de Maupassant montre son dédain pour le monde journalistique dans son œuvre ; son héros dans *Bel-Ami*, Georges Duroy, réussit dans la profession malgré son incapacité d’écrire. Le journalisme pour lui n’est qu’un métier qui lui convient, d’abord en tant qu’une façon de toucher un salaire, et enfin comme un outil qui lui permet de réussir dans sa quête du succès social et financier. Une étude de ce roman nous offrira une explication de la manière dont le pouvoir de l’institution de la presse aide ce personnage du dix-neuvième siècle à tout atteindre.

Daniel S. Larangé

Un aspect de la théologie politique de Victor Hugo : Une lecture du « Pape » (1878)

Critique satirique de la papauté et exposé de pensée religieuse, le poème intitulé « Le Pape » (1878) est présenté comme un « rêve en deux scènes » dans lequel Victor Hugo dénonce l’hypocrisie de l’infaillibilité pontificale établie en 1870 et verse dans un apparent anticléricalisme.

La présente étude propose d’examiner plus en détail la structure de l’œuvre et d’en dégager les grands traits de la théologie politique de l’auteur. Quelles représentations de l’Église s’y développent et quelle idéologie en oriente la signification ?

Derrière le discrédit infligé à l’institution catholique et à l’institutionnalisation de la Parole de Dieu, Victor Hugo ne semble pas nier toute spiritualité et promet même une religiosité

fondée sur la conjonction de l'esthétique et de l'éthique.

Thierry Laugée

"Le métier de critique d'art à l'aube du romantisme, une stratégie politique ?"

Il s'agirait de travailler sur l'utilisation de la critique d'art dans les cénacles pour se forger une première reconnaissance dans les sphères intellectuelles parisiennes et introduire les principales revues. A partir des exemples de Gustave Planche, Adolphe Thiers, Théophile Thoré particulièrement nous verrons que la critique est vue comme un outil de pouvoir, un moyen bruyant et efficace d'entrer dans les débats politiques de l'époque.

Matthijs Lok

An administrative rite de passage

The construction of new ties of loyalty between the restored Bourbon monarchy and the former Napoleonic administrative elite, 1814-1820.

In April 1814 the Napoleonic Empire fell and the old Bourbon dynasty was restored to the French throne. To a large extent, the returned monarchy relied on the old Napoleonic elites to administer Restoration France. Joseph Fouché famously said that Louis XVIII slept in Napoleon's bed. He meant that the Bourbons took over the state apparatus from the French Emperor. But also a large percentage of the Restoration ministers, councillors of state and prefects had made a career under the previous regime. In this paper I will explain how a new loyalty was constructed between the elite of the 'old' regime and the 'new' Bourbon monarchy.

The construction of a new loyalty was an administrative rite de passage consisting of three stages. The first step was taken by the former Napoleonic administrators in their adhesion statements. The timing and content of the adhesion was a delicate business and crucial for the future career of the Napoleonic administrator under the Restoration. The oath presents the next step in the creation of a new bond between old elite and new regime. The oath was highly significant ritual in the early nineteenth century administration. The administrator and the monarch pledge to remain loyal to another. The third and final step was distribution of titles and pensions by the king to the former Napoleonic officials in an (failed) attempt to guarantee their future loyalty.

In my paper I will address the larger themes of the role of the 'turncoat' in the transition from Empire to Monarchy in 1814 and process of state formation in the early years of the Restoration.

Margaret MacNamidhe

"Strained, time-ridden painting: Eugène Delacroix at the Close of the Restoration"

Compared to the attention lavished on other periods of the French nineteenth century, the painting of the Bourbon Restoration (1815-1830) has remained largely neglected by scholars. Nowhere is this more evident than in Eugène Delacroix's lonely eminence in art-historical accounts of the period. His charismatic predecessor Théodore Géricault aside, most people would be hard pressed to think of another French Romantic

painter. For contemporary viewers however, Delacroix was one of several young painters who came to controversial prominence at the Paris Salon exhibitions of the later Restoration. Instead of quarantining Delacroix's major canvases within the linearity of a self-enclosed career, my paper considers his *Death of Sardanapalus* (1827) in the company it first kept: other ambitious and perplexing history paintings from the Restoration's final Salon (1827 to 1828).

The likelihood of the 1827 Salon including a picture more hyperbolic than Delacroix's scene of suicide and massacre might appear slim. But Xavier Sigalon's *Athalia Massacring the Children of Ochozias* (1827) had critics searching for words more contemptuous than those hurled at the *Sardanapalus*. If these paintings were the exhibition's most notorious, Eugène Devéria's *Birth of Henri IV* (1827) was its most celebrated. In 1820, a providential heir had been born to the Duchesse de Berry following her husband's assassination. Seven years later, no Salon viewer would have been immune to the talismanic charge carried by an image of a Bourbon infant. Art historians have correctly insisted that much of Devéria's success depended upon his astute casting of the revered, ordinary Bourbon as a newly born. Certainly, Devéria didn't stint on grandiloquence. He depicted Henri IV, freshly emerged from the womb, held aloft by his grandfather in front of a conveniently assembled court who, en masse, suggest his name.

Can this bizarre moment's popularity in 1827 be entirely locked into the political rationale of an earlier, if tenaciously inscribed, national event? My paper will argue that it must also be appreciated in relation to history painting's plight as the Restoration drew to a close. Devéria's scene used an elaborate temporal stratagem to rivet attention on a royal, yet helpless figure. Delacroix's *Sardanapalus* was universally disliked: yet it also depicts a disengaged king at its center, a diminutive and recessed figure. Sigalon's *Athalia* depicts as scene as unruly as Delacroix's evocation of slaughter. His focal figure is a disordered image of power: distraught figures, buffeted by the fury of the moment, whirl around the interloper queen, Athalia, who murders her dead son's children, the heirs to the House of Judah.

Instead of isolating the canonical, if perennially unpleasant *Sardanapalus* from the overall context of the 1827 Salon, my paper will tie it to these other problematic history paintings from the same exhibition. Multifigure canvases all, each of them depicts an overwrought moment supposedly centered on a sovereign figure, yet one who appears as either diminished or deranged.

Brigitte Mahuzier
SREVID TIAF/FAIT DIVERS
Ecrire l'Histoire sur un carré de gruyère

Le fait divers entretient avec l'Histoire des rapports que, des Goncourt à Bourdieu, l'on considère comme des rapports de diversion. Le fait divers "omnibus" est ainsi nommé par les frères Goncourt (terme repris par Bourdieu) car il intéresse tout le monde, et véhicule la petite histoire sur un mode peu ragoûtant. En outre, il déplace le centre d'intérêt de l'important (la politique mondiale, nationale, l'économie, etc.) à l'inimportant (le scandale politique, financier, les "affaires" de toutes sortes). Selon Maxime du Camp, fait divers et censure sont liés et sont à blâmer pour la mort de ce qu'il appelle la "littérature abstraite": "les lois de surveillance de la presse", écrit-il, "au début du Second Empire, en

proscrivant toute allusion politique, auraient contribué à vouer les journaux à la retransmission des faits divers, des affaires financières, des scandales et des anecdotes, à tuer "la littérature abstraite" [*Souvenirs littéraires*]. Le fait divers et son inclusion de plus en plus grande dans la presse et les media (la feuille volante-le *canard*-étant absorbée dans le journal au moment où celui-ci prend son essor) serait donc la cause non seulement de l'effacement du politique mais de la mise à l'écart d'une littérature "abstraite" au profit d'une littérature "concrète", matérielle, c'est-à-dire au profit de la honteuse littérature réaliste, et qui pire est, naturaliste. Mais si cette littérature (non abstraite comme le déplore du Camp) s'offre à la dévoration du lecteur/consommateur, elle est autant objet de goût que de dégoût.

Dévoration/dégoût vont de pair dans le conte "Boule de suif" de Maupassant, récit qui se déroule pendant la guerre Franco-Prussienne, et dont les deux scènes de dévoration se situent dans une voiture de poste, mêlant toutes les couches sociales, de la prostituée (le personnage éponyme) à la "charmante" comtesse "qu'aucun contact ne peut salir". Or, c'est précisément cette dernière qui, après avoir dévoré (comme le reste de la compagnie) les provisions de Boule de suif pendant la première moitié du trajet, s'abstiendra de lui offrir les siennes, et en particulier un "beau carré de gruyère, apporté dans un journal, [et qui] gardait imprimé "faits divers" sur sa pâte onctueuse". Si l'on peut voir dans cette image une allégorie de la "lecture dévoratrice" (Ph. Hamon, "Faits divers et littérature"), il faut noter que le mot imprimé par l'encre du journal sur ce carré de fromage n'est pas FAIT DIVERS mais SREVID TIAF, et que comme le mot "REDRUM" (pour MURDER) dans le roman et le film *The Shining*, il ne peut être lu qu'à rebours, ou plus précisément dans un miroir où le texte réaliste renvoie l'image de son insatiable goût du réel. "Boule de suif", le personnage et le récit, pourraient se lire comme une allégorie du fait divers "omnibus", littérature de dévoration dont tout le monde profite, mais tout en préférant ignorer la réalité matérielle, la pâte onctueuse, la "bonne pâte", et le sacrifice d'un certain idéal, ici l'idéal patriotique, qui en fait les frais. En dernier lieu, ce qui retiendra notre attention c'est le rapport entre l'écriture de la petite histoire et de la grande Histoire, entre le fait divers et la guerre sans laquelle ce récit n'aurait pas lieu.

Francesco Manzini

'Doctors, Priests, Magistrates: Cabanis, Stendhal and the Power of Medical Practitioners'

The proposed paper will take as its starting point Cabanis's *Du degré de certitude de la médecine* (1798) and its attempt to claim for the emerging professional doctor the powers of the priest and the magistrate. It will be shown how this claim serves to structure Stendhal's representations of the power of medical practitioners in *Lucien Leuwen* and *Lamiel*. These representations will then be related to Stendhal's broader conceptualizations of power, and in particular his radical suggestion that most forms of institutional power are inherently abusive. Stendhal's pessimism in this regard, as well as his changing attitudes to notions of utility and truth, will be related to Cabanis's optimistic view of professional and institutional power as the articulation of a technocracy in the service of 'les vérités utiles'.

Jann Matlock

"Anatomy in Beauty's Empire: Teaching Women the Body in early Nineteenth-Century France"

Although Jean-François Bertrand-Rival plotted the study of anatomy in his post-revolutionary wax museum as excluding women, he seems to have forgotten that a number of his contemporaries in the art of anatomy were women. Furthermore, around the corner, in the very Palais-Royal where he exhibited waxworks depicting the dangers of masturbation, women came to gain their own perspectives on the insides and outsides of bodies in the anatomy courses of the man whose father's influential anatomy of 1759 was illustrated by a woman. Most famous to us today as the grandfather of serial novelist Eugène Sue, Jean-Joseph Sue *père* (1710-92) belonged to a family of surgeons who helped to modernize 18th-century medicine. Jean-Joseph *fils* (1760-1830) took over his father's courses in a series of prestigious locations which had been called under the old regime the Collège royale de chirurgie, the École royale de peinture et de sculpture, and in an extraordinary private school whose intellectual influence in the post-revolutionary period has been vastly underestimated. In all three of these locations, women learned not only to observe the contours of the body but to look inside it.

This paper considers the frameworks for medical and artistic anatomy teaching in the Directory, Consulate and Empire and especially the ways in which these new arts of the body were taught to women. In an era where medical as well as artistic power accrued to those who knew the body through dissection, the creation of institutional frameworks for widening this teaching had wide-ranging implications. I argue in this paper that this post-Thermidor anatomy education for women transformed the possibilities for subjectivity in early nineteenth century France, not only for women artists, but for the middle-class and upper-class women who thereby found themselves at the vortex of new kinds of visibility.

Carmen Mayer-Robin

“Public and Parochial Truth in Zola’s *Vérité*”

This paper proposes to treat the conference theme through the lens of *Vérité*, Zola's *roman à clef* for the Dreyfus Affair, the third novel in the *Quatre Évangiles* series, and possibly the most well-known of the later utopian novels. Set in the France of the Jules Ferry laws, which mandated free public education for all French citizens, Zola's novel stages the contemporary battle between private and public educational institutions. Represented on the one side by the Catholic Church, and on the other by national secular schools, the institutions of this novel borrow from the national scandal of the Dreyfus Affair to expose the inherent anti-Semitism and anti-Republicanism of a powerful mainstream, motored by superstition and archaic doctrine, and deadly to any viable form of modern democracy.

J.H. Mazaheri

Le Pouvoir terrestre et le rire balzacien dans *Pierrette*

Pierrette se termine sur cette remarque à la fois pessimiste et optimiste du narrateur : « Convenons entre nous que la Légalité serait, pour les friponneries sociales, une belle chose si Dieu n'existait pas ». Une société où règnent les Rogrons et les Vinets est une société sans espoir, car le pouvoir est dans les mains des plus corrompus, des plus méchants et des plus médiocres. Mais Provins peut être n'importe où, et un ange, comme la petite Pierrette, y est donc fatalement sacrifié. Or cela a toujours été ainsi, et cela ne changera pas. Voilà la triste constatation d'un Balzac totalement désillusionné. Et pourtant, tout comme La Bruyère, qui tire quelque part dans *Les Caractères* une semblable conclusion, le romancier croit en un pouvoir divin, et en une justice divine, laquelle punira le méchant et

récompensera le bon – du moins dans l’au-delà. Et tout comme La Bruyère, Balzac utilise le rire comme l’arme rhétorique la plus efficace qui soit pour attaquer l’ambitieux assoiffé du pouvoir et la Loi qui le soutient. Ma communication portera essentiellement sur cette rhétorique du rire.

Anne E. McCall

Ruling out Poetic Inversions: Benjamin Constant, Louise Colet, and the Epistolary Privacy of Public Men

Throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the legal doctrine of the “secret of letters” or the “doctrine of confidentiality” protected letters between private citizens from unauthorized use in France’s civil courts or in the press. This doctrine came into play most frequently during the course of commercial disputes, inheritance disagreements, divorce proceedings, and maternity suits opposing individuals who were not known outside of their communities and who sought to present epistolary evidence in court. The pinnacle of the doctrine’s application, however, was reached in a high-profile, literary trial, when France’s *cour de cassation* ruled in 1850 that Louise Colet and Emile Girardin had no right to arrange for the posthumous publication of love letters that Benjamin Constant had written to Romanticism’s mythic muse, Juliette Récamier. According to Justice Troplong’s ruling, Constant’s letters epitomized the “private life” that Lamartine, after Royer-Collard, had fought to protect. Several elements contributed to the a finding that Justice Troplong summarized as an imperative duty: “it is important to oppose publications whose result would be to trouble the memory of the dead in that which they wanted to take with them, to excite malicious polemics, hurt third parties, impair memory worship and [disturb] domestic affections” (my translation). The 1850 ruling became an immediate legal landmark, and the doctrine, which jurists have quoted regularly for over one hundred fifty years, is reputed for protecting celebrity missives from the risk of tabloid-style revelations. I shall argue that the purpose of the ruling was, above all, to shield male epistolarity from feminine editorial power and the corresponding humiliation of poetic inversion.

As I shall demonstrate, the elaborate theoretical framing and length of the rulings by the Tribunal de Paris and the Cour de Cassation reflect the logical difficulty that the court had in using “confidentiality” to protect either the private life, as this judge called it, or the epistolary secrecy of one of France’s most publicly amorous statesmen. Constant was a law maker and political theorist; he was also a novelist who had told the story of the “one hundred days” in epistolary form and published two semi-autobiographical epistolary accounts that showed the public life of a male protagonist hampered by love and guilt. The case for posthumous secrecy was all the more tenuous because of letter publications previously undertaken by established critics like Sainte-Beuve. In ruling against Louise Colet, the court protected male exceptionality; because Constant’s sister and Récamier’s niece, who were plaintiffs in the case, were also published authors, the ruling implied support for a particular form of female authorship. The severe – and I would argue, illegal - - instructions that the court gave Louise Colet, the would-be editor of the letters, poet, short story writer, and biographer show, finally, just how strongly one of France’s most coercive cultural institutions opposed turning the traditional model of heroides-like textual production on its head and featuring a love-sick man, the woman who refused to satisfy him, and a well-known female poet.

Brigitte Méra
Balzac et la muse démocratique

Il s'agira d'évaluer les effets des temps démocratiques sur *la Comédie humaine*. En effet, s'il est quelqu'un qui s'interroge sur la nouvelle donne distribuée par la Révolution, c'est bien Balzac, sans compter que la muse démocratique lui fournit, en quelque sorte une société neuve à étudier, et un moyen d'expression innovant, le roman moderne etc... On verra que celle-ci souffle le chaud et le froid sur toute l'oeuvre et qu'elle est assurément l'aiguillon dérangeant d'une création critique et prophétique.

Il s'agit de partir de recherches que je viens d'effectuer dans un séminaire à la Sorbonne sur « Le gouvernement moderne » et *La Duchesse de Langeais* », d'un article que je viens de publier dans *La Revue des deux Mondes*, ce mois-ci, et d'un ouvrage que je vais publier sur « les passions démocratiques ».

Isabelle Michelot
Le mariage au vaudeville, satire ou exutoire ?

Nul ne contestera sans doute que le mariage est une institution considérée au XIX^e siècle comme la garantie de la stabilité des familles et donc de l'État, comme d'ailleurs il l'a sans doute toujours été. La femme ne peut y échapper pas plus d'ailleurs que le bourgeois qui finit toujours, quelles qu'aient été ses frasques, par "se ranger". Pourtant, sur les scènes parisiennes de la comédie-vaudeville, le mariage prête à rire. Le pouvoir absolu que le droit matrimonial donne au mari sur sa femme se retourne contre lui, le mariage tourne à la farce adultère quand il ne vire pas à la bataille rangée. Le pouvoir patriarcal semble le temps d'une pièce être mis à mal. Sous la plume de Labiche comme celle de Feydeau le mari, souvent considéré comme un imbécile, est le véritable dindon de cette farce matrimoniale. De quoi rit-on dès lors ? De ce voir si ridicule dans ce miroir ou de l'in vraisemblance des situations que ces diables de vaudevillistes inventent ? Y a-t-il quelque réalité sociale qui se dissimule dans la comédie de l'inversion des pouvoirs ou bien le bon bourgeois joue-t-il à se faire peur pour mieux retrouver sa "bourgeoise" à la maison ? En définitive, le vaudeville ne démonte-t-il pas plaisamment la mécanique du bourgeois devenu l'automate d'une société qui le broie une figure parfaite de l'aliéné selon Marx ? À moins qu'il soit lui aussi un outil de ce pouvoir qu'il sert à conforter en faisant peur "pour rire".

Anca Mitroi
Le grand pouvoir des impuissants

Ignorants, mesquins, ridicules, cocus, les fonctionnaires qui peuplent les contes parisiens de Maupassant se ressemblent presque tous dans leurs destinées lamentables écrasées par un patron autoritaire ou femme trop ambitieuse et avide de luxe. Le plus souvent, on a vu dans ces personnages le drame des existences dérisoires, des êtres obscurs ou bien des symboles de l'impuissance sexuelle. En même temps, ces personnages semblent entretenir d'étranges rapports avec les figures du pouvoir politique : dans Les Bijoux, Lantin, ayant appris à la fois sa

richesse et son cocufiage, se sent si puissant qu'il aimerait sauter par dessus la statue de l'empereur de la Colonne Vendôme. Lesable, un autre fonctionnaire cocu, devient roi d'un jour à la Fête des Rois et, de la fenêtre de son appartement, contemple la ville qui s'étale à ses pieds. Un autre fonctionnaire pitoyablement médiocre est emporté, malgré lui, par un cheval fougueux, et passe sous l'Arc de Triomphe, alors que dans les Dimanches d'un bourgeois de Paris, un autre fonctionnaire travaille délibérément à devenir la copie fidèle de Napoléon III et finit par échouer lamentablement dans tout ce qu'il entreprend. Dans ma communication je montrerai que tous ces bureaucrates représentent moins les petits fonctionnaires que Maupassant, fonctionnaire lui-même, avait connus et côtoyés, que le pouvoir illégitime, symbole de l'impuissance politique, piètre imitation d'une autorité réelle (incarnée par Napoléon III empêtré dans le discours du « césarisme démocratique » et que Maupassant réduit à quelques frisettes et une barbiche faciles à imiter).

Chantal Morel

La ville dans les Rougon-Macquart

Le substantif ville est l'une des occurrences les plus fréquentes dans l'oeuvre de Zola. La ville, municipalité administrative, commerçante, industrielle, ouvrière et résidentielle est un lieu de prédilection pour l'auteur. Celui-ci lui offre un jeu lexical étendu, un espace découpé en quartiers dans lesquels évoluent ses personnages, un terrain bouleversé et transformé par les problèmes sociaux et les travaux d'urbanisation de la fin du 19^e siècle. La ville, entité morale, opposée à la campagne et à la terre, est personnifiée par l'auteur qui lui fait partager le quotidien des protagonistes, leurs humeurs et leurs sentiments. La multitude et la variété des descriptions soulignent combien l'auteur connaît et aime cette ville - Paris - qui pour lui symbolise la modernité et l'avenir.

Alexandre NIESS

Les élus de la République : parlementaires et élus locaux de la Marne à l'aube de la Troisième République (1870-1893)

Dans le discours prononcé à Grenoble le 26 septembre 1872, Léon Gambetta déclare : « Oui, je ressens, je sens, j'annonce la venue et la présence dans la politique d'une couche nouvelle (...) ». A l'aube de la Troisième République, Léon Gambetta annonce l'émergence d'une politique nouvelle menée par des hommes nouveaux. De son côté le maréchal Philippe Pétain déclare aux Français dans son discours radiophonique du 11 octobre 1940 la mise en œuvre de la Révolution Nationale et entend instaurer un ordre nouveau dans lequel « renaîtront les élites véritables que le régime passé a mis des années à détruire et qui constitueront des cadres nécessaires au développement du bien-être et de la dignité de tous. » Au regard de ces réflexions émises, la première par un acteur essentiel de

cette Troisième République naissante et la seconde par le chef du gouvernement de l'État Français débutant, l'historien se doit de porter un regard critique. Dès lors, une question se pose : la Troisième République, le plus long régime politique d'expression démocratique par le biais du suffrage universel que la France ait connu, voit-elle réellement un renouvellement du personnel politique, ou plutôt un changement dans le recrutement sociopolitique de ce personnel ?

C'est ce que nous analyserons par le prisme des parlementaires et des élus locaux (conseillers généraux et conseillers d'arrondissement) mandatés par les électeurs du département de la Marne. Qu'en est-il du renouvellement annoncé par Léon Gambetta ? Pouvons-nous considérer les parlementaires et les élus locaux de la même façon dans le cadre de cette problématique ? Quel(s) bilan(s), à l'échelle locale, tirer près de vingt ans après les mots de Gambetta ?

Pour répondre à ces pistes de réflexion, l'historien se doit d'analyser les résultats des élections d'un point de vue purement politique, sous l'angle de la sociologie électorale, mais aussi, par des méthodes prosopographiques, interroger les sources économiques et sociales qui permettent de distinguer les élus entre eux afin de voir, si effectivement, le renouveau annoncé par Gambetta à l'aube de la Troisième République se confirme dans les urnes marnaises.

Claire I R O'Mahony

Administering regional identity: the bureaucratic and aesthetic battles for the re-decoration of Toulouse's Capitole

The Third Republic was a period of particularly intense cultural and political transition within French society; the 1880s and 90s saw the most extreme internal centralisation and colonialist expansion the country had experienced since Napoleon's conquests. Educational reforms sought to produce a unified French citizenry imbued from childhood with a set of republican values and knowledges. These directives were adjudicated in Paris and sought to present an enormous variety of regional traditions and histories as, at best, subservient to if not supplanted by a national history of Kings and revolutions, a single French language and culture. The standardisation of identity which this system implied did not pass uncontested either in the classroom or in the literary and artistic production of fin de siècle provincial France. The administration of a vast project of civic decoration offers a rich site for considering the complex project of attempting to centralise the nation's diverse regions into a cohesive republic.

Jules Ferry, as Minister of Education, devoted vast funds to the redecoration of civic buildings throughout France, implicitly using the vehicle of the town hall and its decoration not only to erase past extremities, but also to envision a new sense of belonging for all its citizens. This initiative was emblematic of Ferry's conviction that art was a vital instrument for developing social cohesion. In his speech at the prize-giving ceremony at the Salon of 1879, Jules Ferry insisted upon all forms of art and artistic education as a civilising influence upon the whole republic: "...artistic education should not have the formation of painters and sculptors as its only goal. We live in a democratic society, artistic education ought to extend beyond the walls of this enclosure, [i.e. the Academy and its Salon] it must penetrate the deepest stratas of society, it must make its mark upon every branch of national production.¹ Significantly Ferry closed this important speech calling for the mural decoration of all of the public buildings of France illustrating new republican

heroes and histories: “Every one of France’s towns has its own history, each its own heroes...this same history of the Revolution which gave birth to the new society...French patriotism has its own Lives of the Saints, its own Golden Legend.”ⁱⁱ The renewal of French national identity after the ignominy of the Prussian defeat and the revolutionary violence of the Commune relied upon art and mural decoration in particular to envision a new pantheon of republican heroes and histories. The profound social disunity between centre and fringe, both in terms of class and region, could be defused by appropriating distinctive localised references to cohesive national culture. Specificity would be used to reinforce hegemony, the appearance of democratic pluralism would defuse active dissent, or so he thought.



This paper considers the ways in which the negotiations and battles between Parisian art administrators, artists and the municipality of Toulouse reflect the complex process of imaging regional and national identity on the walls of the Toulouse townhall, the Capitole. The complexities of a process of “self-colonisation” are witnessed in both the specificities of the administration and commissioning of the artists and the inauguration and the imagery of the Capitole decorations themselves, particularly the work of Jean Paul Laurens and Henri Martin which subtly envisions Toulousain sovereignty through imagery of troubadours, medieval and modern. Toulouse was a distinctively problematic case, an isolated leftist stronghold useful to republicans amidst the largely conservative southern regions, but the radicalism of its municipal council was too separatist to be palatable to many in Paris. This evocative site, as well as its administrative and institutional history, remains largely unexamined and offers a provocative case study through which to assess the central role played by arts administrators in forging Republican identity.

Mary Orr

The Education Cabinet: the space of the Museum as showcase of new forms of thinking

This paper investigates the all-important role of the Museum as institution and institutionalization of changing public education policies in nineteenth-century France. My paper will focus primarily on the Muséum (that is the collections of the Jardin des Plantes as reorganized by Georges Cuvier in the early part of the century), but how Cuvier used this and his various public positions to extend and change the secondary school curriculum for boys, and the perceptions of science in the minds of the generally educated public. The

more interesting fact this paper highlights was also his part in changing the curriculum for girls and women.

The second part of the paper then investigates the momentum of Cuvier's policies through his research assistants, some of whom then became directors of regional museums. The case of Rouen's Museum of Natural History under Pouchet offers a further insight into the place of regions at the centres of educational and scientific debate.

The fact that friends of Cuvier and Pouchet were famous writers is the final but no less important argument in this paper. The influence of the museum on the novels of the period is more than education policy in nineteenth-century French culture. How far did the museum cabinet shape the form of the realist novel?

Roger Pearson

'Mallarmé's "Accusation": Poetry, parliament, and minority rule

Continuing my investigation of Mallarmé's late prose writings I have been considering the ways in which he envisages the role of the poet in society and how he articulates this conception with reference to contemporary social, political and cultural issues. In "'Les Chiffres et les Lettres': Mallarmé's 'Or' and the Gold Standard of Poetry' (*Dix-Neuf*, no. 2 (April 2004), pp.44-56), originally given as a paper at the second annual conference of the Society, I looked at the text entitled 'Or', the first of the 'Grands faits divers' that are carefully placed at the end of his *Divagations* (as a culmination), and I examined how he situated the role of the poet in relation to the world of money. In this paper I would like to take the second of these 'Grands faits divers', entitled 'Accusation', and examine how he situates the role of the poet in relation to the role of parliament as legislator and voice of the people.

My paper will fall into three sections: (i) an introduction in which I outline the origins of 'Accusation' in a political event (the Anarchist bomb attack on the Chambre des députés) and a cultural event (Mallarmé's lecture at Oxford and Cambridge, 'La Musique et les Lettres', a small part of which he extracts to produce 'Accusation'); (ii) a brief close reading in which I demonstrate how, in stating his contention that writers are better placed to express the voice of the people than a Parliament (where, as he might have put it, 'parler ne veut rien dire'), he appropriates the lexis of politics and the law and insidiously redeploys it in a gesture of 'minority rule'; and (iii) a final section in which I open the question out, pointing to related writerly tactics in the other 'Grands faits divers', sketching a pre-history of these innovative 'politico-poetics' in French nineteenth-century literature, and ending with the briefest of references to what Shelley might have meant by calling poets the 'unacknowledged legislators of the World' at the end of his *Defence of Poetry* (1821) - and to why Mallarmé might have meant something very different.

Laurence M. Porter

"Loser Wins: Paradoxical Roles of the Fictional Nineteenth-Century Convent as a Site of Women's Autonomy"

The convent had a bad name in Enlightenment fiction, as a dumping-ground for unruly daughters (*Manon Lescaut*) or as a perverted effect (*La Religieuse*) of a depraved religion.

But as anthropologists have suggested, the sequestration of women together—for example, in the menstruation tent—can sometimes generate mutual support groups and provide welcome relief from male-dominated society at large. Nineteenth-century French fiction began to explore such possibilities. This talk analyses the representation of cooperation and authority within communities of nuns—always already situated within the constraining framework of male power—by George Sand in the 1839 version of *Lélia* and by Victor Hugo in *Les Misérables*. Sand's heroine organizes a discussion group to enhance the novices' self-awareness and self-esteem, but a prompt intervention by suspicious male authority quickly crushes her successful effort. Informed by his interviews with former students at convent schools, Hugo describes how an elaborate disciplinary code simultaneously establishes a zone of secrecy within which a female society can operate freely without male interference. His systematizing imagination then draws implicit parallels with underground communication networks within inmate communities, in both women's and men's prisons. Each author's fictional visions are further illuminated by contrasts with the Catholic Church's official view of the ideal organization and purpose of groups of cloistered women. The æsthetic demands of reportability and plot progression in the novel inevitably clash with the theological imperative of obedience and with the rules of the religious orders, but the fictive representations of the convent in these two examples are surprisingly respectful.

Maud Pouradier

La musique disciplinée

Le contrôle de la musique dans les conservatoires français au XIX^e siècle

Dans *The Imaginary Museum of musical Works*⁹, Lydia Goehr note que l'idée d'une musique que l'on doit répéter (*to rehearse*) est tardive.

“...the idea of an ensemble's rehearsing a composition for adequate performance did not meet with much enthusiasm or comprehension. The terme 'rehearsal' (...) were often used interchangeably with terms designating performance (...). Increasingly, during the 18th century, rehearsals came to mean preliminary 'play throughs'. Later they came to be conceived as private occasions for concentrated practice and learning¹⁰.”

La répétition de la musique est donc contemporaine de ce que Michel Foucault nomme la discipline¹¹ : à partir de la fin du XVIII^e siècle, la musique ne doit plus être incontrôlable. Les musiciens peuvent de moins en moins proposer leurs improvisations. C'est la musique *telle qu'elle est écrite sur la partition* qui doit être jouée. Se fige alors la distinction entre interprète et compositeur – l'exécution de la musique ne devant plus donner lieu à une improvisation créatrice des musiciens. L'exactitude de l'interprétation devient une valeur, et de multiples répétitions préalables deviennent nécessaires.

Ce mouvement, initié à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, se poursuit et s'amplifie au XIX^e siècle : les compositeurs acceptent de moins en moins la liberté d'interprétation des musiciens. Le jeu de l'interprète est encadré et discipliné par des notations de doigté de plus en plus

⁹ GOEHR, Lydia, *The Imaginary Museum of Musical Works. An Essay in the Philosophy of Music* (Oxford, 1992)

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pages 192-193.

¹¹ FOUCAULT, Michel, *Surveiller et Punir. Naissance de la Prison* (Paris, 1975), page 137.

précises¹² ; de nouvelles indications de nuance sont inventées, se développent et se multiplient sur les partitions, afin de mieux contrôler l'interprétation de la musique ; les chanteurs se voient quadrillés en « soprano », « mezzo-soprano », « baryton » ou « ténor », et sont assignés à un répertoire précis aux faibles possibilités de changement. On voit bien qu'il ne s'agit plus, comme dans les académies du XVII^e siècle¹³, d'enseigner seulement un canon, mais de discipliner les corps des musiciens, en leur prescrivant des exercices et des attitudes corporels précis en fonction de leur spécialité.

Une telle maîtrise des musiciens n'est possible que par leur quadrillage dans les nouveaux lieux de pouvoir que sont en France les conservatoires. Après l'inauguration du conservatoire de Paris en 1795, ces écoles de musique se multiplient sur tout le territoire, normalisant le métier de musicien. C'est cette normalisation de la musique dans les conservatoires du XIX^e siècle que nous nous proposons d'étudier, en investissant à nouveaux frais les concepts foucauldien de « discipline » et de « pouvoir ».

Julia Przybos

Vivre ou prier : le vitalisme et le catholicisme dans *L'Ami Fritz* d'Erckmann-Chatrion

Le corps et la littérature ont partie liée. Ses besoins et appétits, peines et plaisirs sont une source universelle d'inspiration qui, au dix-septième siècle, paraît soudainement tarie. Pour Descartes, l'homme est un animal-machine doté d'une âme identifiée à la pensée ou l'esprit. Dédaigné par la philosophie, le corps est mis aux oubliettes de l'art classique. Avec les progrès des Lumières pâlit l'étoile de Descartes : le corps vivant redevient un sujet digne d'intérêt. Les philosophes s'attellent à étudier ses perceptions sensuelles. Les médecins délaissent le mécanisme cartésien pour les théories des vitalistes qui, s'inspirant de la physique newtonienne, cherchent à découvrir la force universelle du vivant qui serait analogue à la gravitation.

Le vitalisme triomphe au lendemain de la Révolution. Pour Xavier Bichat, «La vie est l'ensemble des fonctions qui résistent à la mort» (*Recherches physiologiques sur la vie et la mort*, 1800). Le vitalisme fait tache d'huile en dehors du milieu scientifique. Il inspire des romanciers qui, pour donner l'illusion de vie, évoquent l'existence physiologique des personnages. Balzac reconnaît l'utilité de Gall et Lavater dans la peinture des êtres d'exception mais juge seules les conceptions vitalistes appropriées à la description d'êtres communs. « Tous les hommes ne sont pas assassins, imbéciles ou érotiques, mais tous les hommes ont une bouche, un estomac et un ventre » (« Physiologie gastronomique », *La Silhouette*, 15 août et 14 octobre 1830). Le curé de Tour et le cousin Pons témoignent des convictions vitalistes de leur créateur.

Les « héritiers » de Balzac qui optent pour la peinture d'hommes ordinaires évoquent souvent leur alimentation. Et ces partisans de Bichat n'oublient pas que la vie est *l'ensemble* des fonctions corporelles. Outre l'ingestion et la digestion, ils mentionnent souvent la procréation mais sous forme voilée pour ne pas blesser les bienséances. Et ce qui retient souvent l'intérêt de ces écrivains « réalistes » ce sont les rapports complexes entre l'alimentation et la procréation.

Dans *L'Ami Fritz* (1864), les auteurs Erckmann-Chatrion mettent en scène un personnage épicurien qui craint que la vie conjugale ne détruise le paradis gastronomique qu'il a su créer sur terre. Malgré sa bonne humeur, sa grande générosité et sa bienveillance

¹² SZENDY, Peter, *Membres fantômes. Des Corps musiciens* (Paris, 2002), pages 50-69.

¹³ YATES, Frances Amelia, *The french Academies of the sixteenth century* (New York, 1988).

universelle, Fritz Kobus encoure les reproches du rabbin David Sichel, l'ami intime de son père décédé. C'est donc revêtu de l'autorité paternelle qu'il n'a cesse de rappeler à Fritz que « l'homme n'est pas sur la terre pour se remplir le ventre. » Le premier devoir de l'homme « c'est de se créer une famille, d'avoir une femme et des enfants ». Comment faire comprendre à Fritz l'obligation toute « bichatienne » de transmettre à d'autres « le dépôt de la vie qui nous a été confié ? » Inlassable, le vieux Sichel se charge de lui trouver une épouse en accord avec ses richesses et sa position sociale. Peine perdue car seule une jeune fermière saura plaire à Fritz Kobus. La petite Sûzel lui donne des sensations gastronomiques supérieures à celles que lui procure son excellente cuisinière, la vieille Katel. Ce sont donc les plaisirs inattendus de la bouche qui éveilleront chez Fritz le besoin de goûter aux plaisirs jusqu'alors inconnus de la couche.

L'intérêt évident du roman réside dans l'évolution des rapports entre deux fonctions physiologiques : contradictoires au départ, l'alimentation et la procréation se révèlent être à la fin heureusement complémentaires. Mais il y a plus. Au sein des péripéties d'inspiration vitaliste les auteurs insèrent un épisode qui dote le roman d'une dimension insoupçonnée. Il s'agit du périple de Fritz qui, pour échapper aux souvenirs de Sûzel, accompagne le perceuteur d'impôt dans sa tournée. Les amis quittent les riantes vallées de la Bavière pour rejoindre les régions alpines et ses tristes hameaux. Leur séjour à Widland fournit aux auteurs l'occasion de présenter le fanatisme des habitants et de montrer la pauvreté qui en résulte : « c'est la misère des misères : pas une route, pas un chemin vicinal en bon état, mais des *ex-voto* partout ! Et penser que ces gens-là se font dire des messes aussitôt qu'ils peuvent réunir quatre sous. » *Ex-voto* et messes à répétition mais aussi baptêmes, premières communions, mariages et enterrements qui remplissent les coffres de l'Eglise. S'ajoute à ceci le culte des saints. Excitant la ferveur religieuse des fidèles, le prêtre de Widland a fait de la vénération de saint Maclof une machine à sous.

Le catholique Widland contraste avec Hunebourg où protestants, anabaptistes, juifs et agnostiques mènent ensemble une vie paisible et prospère. La pauvreté des catholiques contre la prospérité des autres Bavarois. Ce que ébauchent ici Erckmann-Chatrian s'est une critique non pas des croyances religieuses mais de l'Eglise catholique qui fanatise les fidèles pour mieux les exploiter. Le vitalisme des auteurs se double ici d'un anticléricalisme économique et social.

Sarah Juliette Sasson (Columbia University)

“Justice institutionnelle et justice surnaturelle dans *Ursule Mirouët*”

L'institution judiciaire joue dans l'œuvre de Balzac un rôle essentiel: à la fois observateur et mage doté de pouvoirs quasi-alchimiques, l'homme de loi fait fonction de témoin de l'indicible. Derville, l'avoué intègre de la *Comédie humaine*, exprime dans les dernières pages du *Colonel Chabert* le chant du cygne de sa profession. Pourtant, son dégoût n'est pas dirigé contre l'institution, mais contre les hommes qui se servent de son cadre à la fois moderne et rigide, pour illustrer avec une créativité incontestable le crime et la noirceur humaine dans leurs infinies variations. Peut-être est-ce la promesse institutionnelle implicite de garantir justice et équité qui rend le constat d'échec si amer.

Mais ce constat génère également un sous-texte, qui en s'infiltrant dans les descriptions précises, détaillées et objectives des textes judiciaires balzaciens, souligne la défaillance du système de justice classique, sapant ses prétentions à être une institution exclusive. On se trouve alors à la lisière d'un univers étrange où se développe (par défaut?)

un système de justice autre, qui complique le discours balzacien sur les institutions. *Ursule Mirouët* est à cet égard un texte exemplaire. A la différence de *L'Histoire des Treize* où un système de justice parallèle fait fi des lois, ou encore de *Gobseck* où l'usurier exerce une justice aussi personnelle qu'efficace, *Ursule Mirouët* est un texte dont la représentation du droit est *a priori* on ne peut plus classique. Ses deux grands thèmes, la province et l'héritage, offrent des possibilités narratives infinies. Avec des sous-titres aussi racoleurs que "Les Héritiers alarmés" ou "La Succession Minoret" et autant de personnages désignés comme "les collatéraux" ou "les cohéritiers", ce texte semble promettre un de ces spectacles réalistes et atroces qui constituent le quotidien de Derville. Pourtant, la solution de l'imbroglio juridique et de l'injustice criante dont est victime l'héroïne (un testament en sa faveur est froidement brûlé) ne réside pas dans les finasseries de la chicane. C'est au contraire par un recours surprenant au surnaturel que se règlera le conflit du roman. Comment justifier la juxtaposition, dans un même texte, du juridique et du surnaturel ? Loin d'être un simple "truc" de romancier, le recours au surnaturel dans *Ursule Mirouët* et la justice rétributive qu'il sous-tend, sont l'indice d'une réflexion critique sur l'institution de la justice et constituent l'esquisse d'une alternative aussi originale que dérangeante.

Jean-Marie Seillan

Institutions et pouvoirs occultes : Huysmans et l'imaginaire conspirationniste

L'objectif de cette intervention est d'analyser un des aspects mal connus des rapports entretenus par Huysmans avec les pouvoirs institutionnels. À partir du moment où, dans les années 1887-88, il enquête sur la survivance de Louis XVII en vue du roman qui deviendra *Là-bas*, Huysmans adhère à une vision de type conspirationniste du pouvoir politique national et international. La critique, quand elle n'a pas dissimulé cette conviction, l'a longtemps expliquée par une crédulité saugrenue, naïve et finalement innocente. Il est temps cependant, pour en comprendre le sens et la cohérence, de montrer, à la lumière des travaux de Norman R. Cohn et de Pierre-André Taguieff, qu'elle relève d'une interprétation politique globale du monde, providentialiste sur l'un de ses versants, complotiste sur l'autre.

Les auteurs fréquentés par Huysmans durant les années 1890 en font foi. Outre Édouard Drumont (*La France juive*, 1886), on y trouve Mgr Léon Meurin, auteur de *La Franc-maçonnerie, synagogue de Satan* (V. Retaux, 1893), Mgr Amand-Joseph Fava (1826-1899), évêque de Grenoble, dénonciateur passionné du complot franc-maçon (*Appel aux catholiques français et aux catholiques des diverses nations [contre la franc-maçonnerie]*, Grenoble, rééd. 1896), l'abbé J. C. Thorey, auteur des *Rapports merveilleux de Mme Cantianille B... avec le monde surnaturel* (Louis Hervé éd., 1866, 2 vol., 356 et 230 p.), le Dr Bataille (pseudonyme de Léo Taxil) avec *Le Diable au XIX^e siècle* (Delhomme et Briguet, 1892-95, 2 vol.) ou encore Abel Clarin de la Rive, *La femme et l'enfant dans la Franc-Maçonnerie universelle* (Delhomme et Briguet, 746 p.).

Les thèses développées par Huysmans dans sa correspondance (en partie inédite) à propos d'événements accidentels (incendie du Bazar de la Charité), naturels (éruption de la Montagne Pelée), politiques (Affaire Dreyfus, loi de 1901 sur les Associations, loi de 1905 sur la séparation des Églises et de l'État), internationaux (guerre des Boers, révolte des Boxers) ou encore religieux (ralliement de l'Église à la République, politique menée par Léon XIII et Pie X) confirment cette fantasmagorie d'un complot universel dirigé depuis

les États-Unis par la volonté pluriséculaire conjuguée des Juifs, des Francs-maçons et des Protestants contre l'Église et la foi catholiques.

Cette fantasmagorie commande pour partie la vision de l'espace monastique (citadelle assiégée, bouclier anti-diabolique, etc.) et la géographie imaginaires élaborées par le romancier d'*En route à L'Oblat* ainsi que la définition des missions assignées à ses yeux à l'Église et aux artistes chrétiens.

Shaw Smith

The Orientalisms of *Le Tigre*, Eugène Delacroix: L'Indoustan français and Virtual Orientalism

Although it is a conference cliché to say that a paper to be presented is “part of a larger project,” it is true that the subject of Eugène Delacroix and nineteenth-century India reflects my interest in looking at a very wide picture of Delacroix and his relationship with the cultural constructions of both “India” and “the Orient.” I would like to analyze these constructions, which have achieved the force of virtually institutionalized status, by confronting them from a perspective of resistance directed at the powerful norms of English colonialism.

The French ruled parts of India for 280 years (1673-1956), that is to say they established a kind of colonialism that outlasted that of the English, but in a different form and with different results. As William F.S. Miles writes in *Imperial Burdens: Countercolonialism in Former French India* (London, 1995), “French India” was as likely as “British India” in the eighteenth century. However, the French aspirations to a so-called “mission civilisatrice” differed from the British commercial and imperial approach. By the nineteenth century, French orientalism in India represented orientalism as a visual spectacle from afar that prioritized a deferred orientalism of collecting miniatures and, in the Baudelairian extreme, “avoiding India.” As Sudipto Chatterjee suggests in a review of Binita Mehta, *Widows, Pariahs, And Bayadres: India as Spectacle*, 2002, “...The colonial interactions between France and India did not lead to a French Empire in India...” According to Mehta, “...the French presence in India moved from expressly imperialistic designs (rivalry with the British in establishing colonial commerce and empire) to—once imperialistic intentions had wilted---creating a fantastically fixed Other through which to talk about French nationhood...” She concludes by saying, “the neglected story of the French India Empire, though it never was, still informed the self-fashioning of French national identity.” The loss of the French colonies in India early on in the imperial chess match created a virtual orientalism shared by even some of the greatest French artists such as Delacroix (whose totemic animal was the tiger) and by writers such as Gautier, Baudelaire and later, Loti.

This particular interest for me comes from two major inspirations. First, stemming from a personal visit in June 2005 to Pondicherry, the French colonial capitol in India, I propose to consider nineteenth-century India as French colonial Indoustan rather than traditional English India. Second, while many of the documents of orientalist practices in India (specifically travel journals and picturesque views) are well known, the use, or better still, the second-hand and secondary use of such documents has been much less carefully analyzed. This kind of orientalism I term a “virtual Orientalism” as it was practiced by the French artist Eugène Delacroix through his copies of manuscripts in the Bibliothèque royale, through his own private collection of accounts and images of the East, and through his animal studies at the Tower Menagerie in London and the Jardin des Plantes and Muséum d'Histoire naturelle in Paris. Rather than focusing on the traditional orientalist aspects of his trip to Spain and North Africa in 1832, I will examine Eugène Delacroix's

attraction to l'Indoustan which is all the more arresting precisely because he never put a foot in any part of that world. Nonetheless, he made a body of drawings of Indian subjects (Cabinet des Dessins, Musée du Louvre) which sometimes find their way into his larger and better known salon paintings. Through the study of this "virtual orientalism", these public works such as *La Grèce sur les ruines de Missolonghi*, 1826 and *La Mort de Sardanapale*, 1827, among others, represent not only a new kind of subject, but also reflect a different way of seeing. This paper then addresses several important and current questions.

In addition to the Louvre drawings (some fifteen drawings from the 1820's to 1850's as well as paintings such as *Le Cheval et L'Indien*, 1825, *Le tigre indien au repos*, 1846, and *Une femme indienne attaquée par un tigre*, 1856), there are several other points of literary and visual comparison in Delacroix's life and works to consider: one by the French botanist, Victor Jacquemont (1801-1832), whose book, *Voyage dans l'Inde pendant les années 1828 à 1832*, was published in 1841-44; and another by the Russian Prince Alexis Soltykoff (1806-1859) with 22 lithographic-plated images, *Voyage dans l'Inde, pendant les années 1841 à 1846*, printed between 1848 and 1858. Delacroix mentions personal visits with Soltykoff several times in his *Journal* and his *L'acte de décès* shows that he owned a copy of Soltykoff's *Voyage dans l'Inde*. In his *L'oeuvre et la vie d'Eugène Delacroix* (September-November 1863), Charles Baudelaire (whose poetry often invoked references to Hindu gods and rituals after his abortive trip towards India in 1841) compared Delacroix and Jacquemont in terms of their Brahmin attitudes. Given that the problem with Edward Said's original, ground-breaking work on orientalism in 1978 was his contention that the Western reaction to the East was a homogeneous, monolithic block, what are some other forms of orientalism? What are Delacroix's other orientalisms? And how was the French experience of eventual loss in L'Indoustan different from the extended domination of India by the British?

As this will be my third occasion to participate in the annual conference (following meetings in Ireland and Scotland), I am particularly pleased to offer this paper on Delacroix at Cambridge University. I would modestly add that Delacroix's "virtual Indoustan" seems to be another act of the colonial performance described by Metha...one of loss. This sense of defeat, nostalgia, reaction and resistance to institutions is hardly lost on me, an American Southerner, or, I would guess, on our Irish and Scottish colleagues. To present an image of *L'Indoustan français* as a powerful alternative to English India at an anglo-french conference in one of the great educational institutions of the British Empire, would seem only fitting.

Katherine Shingler

Word-Image Power Struggles in the *Fin de siècle*: The Case of Maurice Denis

When word and image interact within a work of art, it is rarely on equal terms. In the late nineteenth century, debates surrounding Wagnerism tended to support an 'imperialist' model of inter-arts collaboration, whereby art forms or genres vie for supremacy, with one eventually absorbing and dominating the other. Thus, for instance, although Mallarmé objected to the Wagnerian *Gesamtkunstwerk* on the grounds that within it music occupied a privileged position in relation to the other arts, he did not reject the *principle* that one art form would necessarily be dominant – rather, his view was that poetry, not music, should be the dominant art form.

This paper will discuss the writings of the Nabi painter Maurice Denis (1870-1943) in relation to his practice as an illustrator, and will place this practice within the context of

such word-image power struggles in the late nineteenth century. Denis proclaimed in his 1890 article, 'Définition du néo-traditionnisme': 'Quand la plastique lutte de près avec l'écriture, dans le livre apparaissent des énormités.' For Denis, aesthetic possibilities arise out of the dynamic, creative struggle between word and image within the space of the illustrated book. Illustration should be 'sans servitude du texte, sans exacte correspondance de sujet avec l'écriture', asserting its own power and specificity. Such images will be primarily decorative, tending to encourage the visual appreciation of the page as a whole, the verbal thus being absorbed into the realm of the visual. I will explore the way in which images resist the domination of words in Denis' early illustrated works, such as his lithographs for Mallarmé's 'Petit air' (1894) and André Gide's *Le Voyage d'Urien* (1893). I will conclude by considering Denis's paradoxical situation as an artist who, while proclaiming the 'anti-literary' qualities of his painting and illustration, frequently used the written word to express and defend his aesthetic aims, and transposed his own words into images for his 1899 album of lithographs, *Amour*.

Juliet Simpson

Whose History? Art, History and the Nation State in Early Third Republic France

The early years of the French Third Republic were characterized by a spate of new histories, especially of art. But while art history's emergence as a formalized institution has been the subject of much recent scholarly interest, this paper's concern - more neglected - is their role in creating and promoting a revitalised, modern vision of the French nation state, through reconstructing as contemporary, its key cultural emblems. Taking as its starting-point the antagonistic models of history promoted by two of the period's most influential historians of art, Charles Blanc and Hippolyte Taine, these provide the framework for exploring how types of history underpinning the early Third Republic's creation also became central to symbolising, challenging and transforming its cultural institutions and ideologies. This idea is focused in relation to three key publications of the 1870s: Jules Claretie's *Peintres et sculpteurs contemporains* (1872-3); Blanc's *Les Artistes de mon temps* (1876) and Philippe Burty's *Maitres et petits maitres* (1877) - significant examples of linked yet contrasting historical approaches for the new Republic's broader political and cultural identity. While Blanc's is about energizing a Vasarian Great Lives model for the generation of the 1870s, one that gained wide currency during the period for its astute fusion of Classical and Romantic ideals, both Claretie's and Burty's concern is to construct relationships between history and contemporary art: the very history that Blanc avoids. Although influenced by Blancian historical methods, in shifting their lens to the present, Claretie's and especially Burty's collections, carve out perspectives which link the new Republic's idea of nation with more modern cultural tendencies - naturalism - and to the image of the historian as journalist and art critic whose value lies in his ability to interpret the present as well as extrapolate from the past.

Bradley Stephens

Victor Hugo, Charles Renouvier, and the Empowerment of the Poet-Philosopher

Poet, novelist, artist, statesman – Victor Hugo's many titles have all mixed to make him into a virtually incomparable French institution. But for this 'Jack of all trades', philosophy is rarely seen as one of the cards that he plays. As the patriarch of French Romanticism, Hugo is often associated with the primacy of the imagination, exhibiting a

poetic creativity that seems to share little in common with the rigours of philosophical logic. His essays and notes focussed almost entirely on poets and artists, whilst the influential philosophers of his time such as Hegel and Comte were known to him by name only.

However, in *Victor Hugo, le philosophe* (1900), Charles Renouvier argued that Hugo was perhaps *the* French philosopher of the nineteenth century precisely because he brought the romantic and the rational to bear upon one another. Renouvier's liberalism would have a direct influence on the Dreyfusard intellectuals and Julien Benda, as well as on the American pragmatist William James. As the most prolific philosophical writer of his generation, he followed on from François Maine de Biran, who had argued against not only Locke's and Hume's normative reason, but also Condillac's 'science of ideas'. Renouvier in turn stressed the value of the individual's *sens intime*, insisting on the validity of personal experience. Suspicious of how philosophy had become institutionalised in academic circles, Renouvier praised Hugo as a thinker of contrast who had refused to fix his ideas within a single conceptualising framework. As a man of his times, Hugo identified and tapped into the major pulses of nineteenth-century thinking, including positivism and pessimism. But his inventive vision as a poet helped him look beyond such philosophical strictures, giving him both breadth of understanding and depth of insight as the *poète-philosophe*.

This paper will highlight how both men indeed conceive of poetry and philosophy as necessarily in dialogue rather than mutually exclusive. Their focus is on an interdisciplinary practice rather than an institutional one, challenging the closed outlooks of both 'l'art pour l'art' and strictly practical reason to empower a much wider perspective. Reading Renouvier's greatly overlooked essay alongside Hugo's *Proses philosophiques des années 1860-65*, I want to complement the recent scholarship that has portrayed Hugo's work as a pluralistic rather than monolithic oeuvre. Crucially, I will highlight how both thinkers emphasise that this dialogue is one of contestation, not resolution. They refuse to grant one dominion over the other, in order to keep in play the dynamic of poetic intuition and philosophical sense that they see as pivotal to man's thinking about his world. In so doing, I will foreground their relevance to current debates on the identity of the French thinker in a 'post-theory' world that is reclaiming philosophy as a popular rather than specialist discourse.

Sonya Stephens

Auguste Rodin, or the institutionalisation of the self as artist

It is a well known fact that, in nineteenth-century France, very few dealers were willing-or able-to stage sculptural exhibitions and sculptors, such as Rodin, were, therefore, compelled to submit to the authority of the Salon or to the (often ideologically constraining) requirements of architectural or monumental competitions. Rodin, whose work was repeatedly turned down by the École des Beaux-Arts, sought in unprecedented ways to promote his work through his own studios; studios which by century's end were already established, in the public consciousness at least, as museums. But beyond this institutionalisation of the studio-museum, Rodin used the power of another fast-growing institution, that of photography (itself associated with a monumental mission since the middle of the century) to actively promote his own creative activity, and this in ways which directly reflect the relationship between the studio and the museum. This paper, in its broadest terms, looks at the institutionalisation of the artist in the nineteenth century and the role of the monument and the museum. Focussing on the relationship between art and

power, and the way these are expressed in the institutions of nineteenth-century art, this paper also draws out the significance of Rodin's particular engagement with the idea of both the museum and artistic production, the evolution of the studios into museums, and the very conscious promotion of the creative self as an institution.

Scott Sprenger

Death by Marriage in Balzac's *Comédie humaine*

The question I propose to explore in my paper is why French writers appear to view marriage as an institution capable of provoking inexplicable acts of violence, madness or spontaneous death. Failed marriage, of course, is a topic that spans French literature from its origins to the present. But 19th-century France provides an inordinate number of fantastically catastrophic versions (Mérimée, Balzac, Gautier, Hugo, Verne, Zola, Villiers, etc.). A number of excellent studies have already examined this corpus from historical, psychoanalytic and feminist perspectives. Missing, however, is a rigorous consideration of this corpus from within the problematic of the “desacralisation” of marriage in the wake of the French Revolution. Based on an archival reconstruction of theological and philosophical debates on marriage in the early 19th century, I will demonstrate that fictional representations of failed marriage in Balzac reflect an anxiety generated by cultural modernisation and the laïcisation of traditional French institutions. Balzac's failed marriages (Louis Lambert, *Peau de chagrin*, *Sarrasine*, *La Recherche de l'absolu*, *Adieu*, etc.), in other words, are not necessarily about marriage per se; marriage works as a symbolic expression of the much broader issue of the displacement of traditional institutions and beliefs ground in Ancien Régime/Catholic France and the crossing of a cultural threshold into modernity. Marriage is apt for Balzac's objectives because of its traditional sacred status as a Catholic sacrament and the residual sacrality that this institution thus carried with it into the post-revolutionary era. It is also, of course, a traditional symbol for threshold experiences. The characters whose lives are destroyed at the precise moment they express their desire to marry or consummate their marriage thus tend to be caught at a threshold between two incommensurate worlds: their consciousness, values and desires were shaped in the “sacred” world of pre-revolutionary, Catholic France, yet their desire (for historical

reasons) must be expressed within the context of modernity. The idea is that this historical contradiction between a residual desire for sacred union and the modernized institutions for expressing it finds its visual expression in Balzac in an eruption of death, violence, madness and the like.

Juliana Starr

The Mummy's Revenge: Hegemonic Violence in Gautier's Egyptian Tales

The first half of the nineteenth century saw great enthusiasm for Egyptian exploration and the new science of Egyptology--enthusiasm due in large part to the discovery in 1799 of the trilingual Rosetta Stone, a slab of black basalt decyphered by Frenchman Jean-François Champollion. The germ of Gautier's *Le Roman de la Momie* (1857) is found in a passage from Champollion's letters in which the legendary Egyptologist related his visit to a tomb in the Valley of the Kings. My paper examines how Gautier inverted the facts in his source in order to feminize his story, thereby making the mummy-woman the focus of his narrative. For in depicting his mummy as female, he links the subject of women with that of Egypt, proposing a connection between patriarchal and colonial domination. It is this connection especially that I will examine in this paper, through a feminist reading of three different stories: *Le Roman de la Momie* (and especially its prologue), *Le Roi Candaule* (1847) and *Le Pied de Momie* (1840). In so doing, with the help of Andrea Dworkin, Luce Irigaray and others, I hope to demonstrate Gautier's unique and ironic twist--one in which female characters, surprisingly, are often endowed with all the necessary intelligence and power to defy the representational constructs of the male gaze, and thereby to break the seemingly endless chain of the commodification of women. Acutely aware that *Le Roman de la Momie* was published in the same year as both *Madame Bovary* and *Les Fleurs du Mal*, I will also argue that in a time of intense scrutiny, Egyptian discoveries offered Gautier, who was also a journalist, the opportunity to create stories under the protective guise of documentary realism, a guise needed to slip his stinging political critique past the censors.

Alistair Swiffen

Nerval beyond shrinkage in the age of shrinks. Perspectives on reading *Aurélia* with and without the asylum

For Michel Jeanneret, Nerval's *Aurélia* is ultimately an account of the failure of reasoned narrative discourse to control the delusional potential of its narrated content. Nearly thirty years since the publication of Jeanneret's masterly *La Lettre perdue*, it is time to revisit his argument that in Nerval's unfinished swansong, 'le discours sur la folie se greffe sur le discours de la folie, au point de ne pouvoir s'en distinguer'. This paper will explore perspectives which that argument opens up to us, but which Jeanneret himself has never investigated. It will consider the constraints which Jeanneret explicitly sets himself in his analysis of Nerval's final work, alongside further restrictions that establish themselves less explicitly in the course of his account. It will move beyond the inadvertent restrictions, but respect the ethos of Jeanneret's considered constraints. Like *La Lettre perdue*, it will eschew biographical readings of Nerval. Unlike its inspiration, it will nonetheless investigate agencies beyond the narrator of *Aurélia*. Jeanneret effectively limits his

discussion of 'le discours sur la folie' to a commentary on utterances which can be directly attributed to the Nervalian narrator. This paper will investigate the psychiatric and wider social implications of that category. Its main focus will remain the text of *Aurélia* itself, which will here be subject to close reading, just as it is in *La Lettre perdue*. Yet the paper will also discuss the work as an intertextual artefact, enmeshed with references to the psychiatric theories and practices of its time, with the language of nineteenth-century France more generally, and with the ideological assumptions which that language implies. Particular attention will be paid to Nerval's descriptions of the mental asylum in *Aurélia*, but they will be read in relation to the psychiatric discourse and eyewitness accounts of his contemporaries. The resulting comparison will lead on to a discussion of the relationship between psychiatry and religion, or metaphysics more generally, in 1840s and 1850s France. The link between metaphysics and the psychological state of Nerval's narrator is a key factor in Jeanneret's account. Yet *La Lettre perdue* discusses only the way in which the metaphysical doubts of Nerval's narrated madness subvert the ostensible metaphysical certainty of his narrator's discourse. This paper will consider how the structure of *Aurélia* also works to pass that subversion on from its narrator, to targets which lie further afield. It will investigate the devices whereby *Aurélia* questions the ability of its psychiatric intertexts to control madness. It will discuss the way in which the text reaches out to its wider linguistic and social surroundings, in order to challenge the metaphysical complacency of its age. Jeanneret reads such challenges as evidence of the narrator's unhealthily inflated ego, and diagnoses 'Théomanie'. This paper will consider the possibility that they represent the utter rejection of such selfhood, in favour of a conviction which is stripped of pride. It will argue that Nerval sees proud selfhood or 'ego' as founded on metaphysical certainty, which is enforced by the psychiatry of his time, but only with the support of the whole social edifice outside the asylum. It will show how the Nervalian narrator's moments of apparent self-apotheosis can be read as parodies of attitudes in the world outside the madhouse. Finally, it will argue that Nerval's originality and modernity lie in his recognition that society's support is crucial to the growing institutional power of psychiatry in his day, and in his move to subvert social mores as well as medical ones. It will consider the possibility that far from singling himself out as a lonely initiate of metaphysical truth, he is reaching out towards a concept of community which is stripped of all metaphysical underpinning, and which is founded on a shared sense of human finitude.

Clive Thomson

Pouvoir et résistance dans le monde médicale et dans la littérature des années 1880 : l'exemple de Charcot et Rachilde

Les années 1870 à 1900 en France sont caractérisées par une explosion de nouvelles terminologies médicales, mises en circulation dans les discours savants scientifiques dont le but avéré est de maîtriser (en les définissant) certaines activités sexuelles qui suscitaient de l'inquiétude et des réactions violemment hostiles. Le point de départ de notre communication consiste à dire que textes littéraires et scientifiques à cette époque font naître de nouveaux « savoirs » qui permettent à de nouvelles subjectivités d'émerger. Ambroise Tardieu, professeur de « médecine légale » à la Faculté de Médecine de Paris, réimprime en 1870 son *Etude médico-légale sur les attentats aux mœurs*. Celui-ci est au sommet de sa carrière et un des spécialistes médicaux les plus réputés dans ce nouveau domaine que l'on appellera « la médecine légale » prenant pour objet d'étude, en étroite « complicité » avec les juristes, « la pédérastie et la sodomie ». Les enquêtes de Tardieu sont tributaires d'un ensemble de présupposés, le plus important consistant à croire que les

signes de la pédérastie sont à observer sur l'extérieur du corps. Dans les années 1880, avec les études médicales de Jean-Martin Charcot et d'autres médecins, commence à changer la manière d'étudier ce que l'on appelle plus couramment « l'inversion ». L'inversion se conçoit, à partir d'une psychologie spécifique, comme « un état d'âme » intérieur. Dans le monde des lettres, Rachilde met en scène des personnages « androgynes » que les critiques ont appelés le plus souvent « pervers », « rebelles », « décadents », « subversifs ». En nous inspirant de la conception de ce que Foucault nomme « l'homme moderne » (celui – Baudelaire est donné comme LE modèle - qui s'astreint, en permanence, à s'inventer, à se réinventer, dans une dialectique pouvoir/résistance), notre objectif spécifique dans cette communication est de montrer comment de nouvelles subjectivités se constituent dans la circulation de savoirs nouveaux entre le monde de la médecine et les milieux littéraires. Nous travaillerons en particulier sur les articles de Charcot sur l'inversion et les romans de Rachilde qui présentent des personnages androgynes.

Peter Turberfield

Sexual Exploitation and Empowerment: Reversal of the Roles of Colonised and Coloniser in the Works of Pierre Loti

Whilst at the conscious level Pierre Loti is writing within the Orientalist tradition and confirming the traditional role of exploitation that might be expected of him, he is at the same time, in direct contradiction, albeit at the level of the unconscious, imparting an extremely radical model of sexuality and identification which undermines the very patriarchal power structure he appears to be epitomising. In colonialist terms the exploitative male is in the position of patriarchal authority. He wields the phallus and the Oriental woman (or young man) stands in the place of the penetrated mother figure. Through his selfish behaviour *Loti* would seem to be upholding this classical patriarchal structure of Western domination of the Orient, but a consideration of the implications of his mother-identification and narcissistic sexual object-choice would on the contrary seem to place him in the position of the Oriental mother-figure himself. Following an interpretation of Kaja Silverman's Leonardo da Vinci model of homo/bisexuality he is denying the phallus 'as a marker of symbolic privilege and the Law'. His indulgence in exotic sex therefore becomes not a part of the system of patriarchal colonialism, but simply a libidinal experience of the penis 'as an erotically resonant organ', subverting the power structure from within which he is apparently writing. Within this reading the implications of *Loti's* fetishistic adoption of Oriental costume and identification with the colonial subject are quite radical if taken to their logical conclusion. In Silverman's model, '[by] incorporating the mother, the homosexual subject is able to make good her anatomical "deficiency", in effect, he provides the missing organ through his own body.' If we extend this idea to the colonial context, we see Loti's identification with the Orient as played out in his cross-cultural transvestism as a radical empowerment of the colonised subject. Silverman's model proposes the reversibility of identification and desire and she describes the different roles which are correspondingly implicit, that 'desire for the (phallic) [i.e. pre-Oedipal, non-castrated] mother implies occupying the passive or receptive position of the child in the Leonardo fantasmatic, whereas identification with her necessitates occupying instead the active or insertive position of the vulture'. The feminine identification therefore 'signifies neither receptivity, exhibitionism, passivity, nor masochism, but rather *activity* and *penetration*', and as such is indeed a 'radically revisionary inscription of femininity' as 'it is only from the maternal position that one wields the penis.' Loti's identification with/desire for the Orient, as portrayed in his work, in this way reverses the roles of

colonial domination. Through the expression of his identification and desire he is accepting the subordinate position as coloniser, and assuming the dominant position of the phallic-mother as colonised subject. As a result it becomes possible to see his fetishistic cross-cultural transvestism as part of a very 'radically revisionary' process. What appear to be straightforward accounts of exploitative behaviour symbolically become the exact opposite. The 'peculiar fetishism' which Silverman describes, 'which covers over the absence of a penis with the penis itself' becomes an empowerment of the Oriental subject through what would appear to be contradictory acts of exploitation.

Karine Varley

'Heroes and scapegoats: The post-1871 national recovery and the French army'

At first glance, there might appear no greater symbol of a post-1871 collective amnesia than the fact that only two years after the French defeat in the Franco-Prussian War, the President of the Republic was none other than the commander of the Army of Châlons at Sedan, Marshal MacMahon. Despite his significant role in the disasters of 31 August and 1 September 1870, and Froeschwiller on 4 to 6 August 1870, MacMahon was chosen to replace the deposed Thiers. MacMahon appeared to monarchists to be a safe pair of hands while the issue of the restoration remained unsettled, yet his selection was also a measure of the perceived trustworthiness of soldiers; in a climate of uncertainty, the army was seen as a source of stability and guardian of national honour.

Placing the army at the heart of the national revival might appear a paradoxical response to one of the most crushing military collapses in French history, prompting some historians to suggest that there was a widespread denial of the defeat. Indeed, the post-1871 period saw a massive, almost obsessive, outpouring of patriotic representations of the conflict. Almost every area of cultural activity was mobilised to provide comforting explanations for the defeat that would serve to regenerate the nation. Fantasies of *revanche*, the transfiguration of humiliating defeat into moral victory, the National Assembly's exoneration of the army and the scapegoating of the 'traitor' Marshal Bazaine all serve to reinforce the impression of a national self-delusion that only began to crumble with the rise of anti-militarism and the Dreyfus Affair.

A more nuanced approach, however, reveals the self-conscious nature of the patriotic transfiguration, and the political imperatives behind the cult of the army. Myths surrounding the national defence coexisted with profound intellectual questioning about the causes of the defeat and reforms to almost every area of government activity. Claims of superior French intellect and moral conduct were expressed alongside fears of national decadence and degeneration. The experiences of the Paris Commune and civil war were fundamental in changing perceptions of the army from a symbol of chaotic collapse to an instrument in the maintenance of social order. MacMahon's candidacy for the presidency was thus viewed in terms of his successful command of the army against Commune forces and his ability in monarchist eyes to act as a bulwark against the rising republican electoral support. If the trial of Bazaine provided the nation with an easy scapegoat for the defeat and his conviction represented only a further nail in the coffin for Bonapartism; it did not satisfy monarchist desires to pin responsibility upon their greatest political threat, the republicans. The fallout of the Franco-Prussian War was thus wide-ranging, fundamentally altering attitudes towards the army and ultimately also French political culture.

Geoffrey Wall/Malcolm Colledge
The Other Flaubert: Achille-Cleophas, 1782-1846

Working from archival material we propose a brief professional biography of the early 19th century French physician Achille-Cleophas Flaubert, exploring his life and work both in relation to the evolution of French medicine and in the political context of a provincial city experiencing rapid and traumatic industrialisation. A-C Flaubert is one of his century's 'Representative Men', one of the Paris-educated Napoleonic liberal elite who awoke in 1815 to the awkward fact of Monarchy Restored. Child of the Revolution, pioneer of enlightened post-operative care, provincial polymath, humanitarian friend of the poor, Director of Rouen's Municipal Hospital, the history of A-C Flaubert illuminates the origins of modern scientific medicine. His profession required him to live on the border between bourgeois and worker, science and religion, politics and philanthropy.

In our paper we examine the institutional politics of the Hotel Dieu in Rouen during the period of A-C Flaubert's professional activities there, 1806-1846. We present a sample analysis of A-C Flaubert's clinical notebooks for the years 1818-1821. We dis-assemble the obituary pamphlet published by a close colleague in 1847, the year after A-C Flaubert's death.

Benjamin Walton
Musical Effects and Effective Music in 1829

In the summer of 1829, Eugène Ronteix published the first French history of romanticism. Painters, novelists, philosophers and playwrights all made an appearance, as did a small handful of composers, including both Ludwig van Beethoven and Gioachino Rossini. Beethoven's appearance was no great surprise, coming after the enormous success of his music at the opening series of concerts by the Société des Concerts du Conservatoire in the spring of the previous year. Rossini, meanwhile, had dominated Parisian musical life since early in the decade, while his final opera, *Guillaume Tell*, received its long-awaited première shortly after the publication of Ronteix's account.

At this point, then, Beethoven and Rossini still existed on an equal footing in Parisian culture, grouped together as producers of the sort of thrillingly romantic 'effect music' that seemed to bear the clear marks of its post-revolutionary age (Ronteix even went so far as to suggest all earlier music had been both slow and quiet by comparison). Yet 1829 also saw the first signs of a rift created between the two composers that was already visible elsewhere in Europe, and that would soon be formalised as the historiographical category of the 'twin styles', emphasising the profundity of Beethoven (whether seen as classic or romantic) over the frivolity of Rossini (no longer romantic).

My paper will explore the creation in Paris of this opposition between the two composers; an opposition caused, I would argue, by the narrowing of the dominant discourse of music criticism as it turned from an amateur pursuit into a professionalised discipline during the final years of the Restoration. By concentrating on criticism of the Conservatoire concerts and of *Guillaume Tell*, I wish to explore the contested vocabularies for the

description of music at the time, and to trace how opera and instrumental music participated in sometimes unexpected ways in the inescapably political debates over the nature and implications of French romanticism in the final years of the 1820s. But such participation was necessarily short-lived, and it is no surprise that the first French translations of the musical writings of ETA Hoffmann would also appear in 1829; writings which would outline a very different type of romanticism, and whose rise to paradigmatic dominance – for all their celebration of poetic freedoms – would radically limit the ways in which we have talked about such music ever since.

Andrew Watts

Power to the young?: Balzac's *jeunocratie*, from *Une fille d'Ève* to *Z. Marcas*

'En examinant la composition de la chambre élective, vous n'y trouvez point de député de trente ans: la jeunesse de Richelieu et celle de Mazarin [...] n'y trouveraient point de place.'¹⁴ Thus wrote Balzac in *Z. Marcas*, a short story intended for his own *Revue parisienne* in 1840. He had long since been frustrated at the under-representation of young men in government, and was not alone in fearing that their ambitions were being stifled by a gerontocracy, aged relics ill-suited to the task of leading France in a new age. Already, in his pamphlet of 1828, James Fazy had noted the dangerous preponderance of old men in the Chamber of Deputies: 'On a rapetissé la France dans 7 à 8000 individus asthmatiques, gouteux, paralytiques, de facultés affaiblies, et n'aspirant qu'au repos.'¹⁵ The satirical complaint is one that recurs throughout Balzac's work, from the disgruntled liberalism of the 'Lettres sur Paris' (1831), to the virulence of *Un prince de la Bohème* (1844), in which he condemns 'la gérontocratie, sous laquelle tout se flétrit' (*CH*, 7: 808). This paper seeks to examine the participation of young men in the political arena of *La Comédie humaine*, and to consider whether the energy and intellect of Balzac's aspirant *jeunocratie* is sufficient to reverse the social and political damage wrought by an older generation. I begin by analysing the career of Henri de Marsay, whose rise from Parisian dandy to Prime Minister is achieved through his willingness to follow the crooked path of intrigue, 'le chemin le plus court en politique' (*CH*, 2: 306). I proceed then to appraise the philosophy of Zéphirin Marcas, a man with unreserved faith in the abilities of the young, but whose own political betrayal leads him to the grave, aged only thirty-five. Finally, I turn to Raoul Nathan, the novelist and playwright of *Une fille d'Ève* (1834), who, in close alignment with Balzac himself, strives to obtain political influence by founding a daily newspaper. In contrasting the fortunes of these three characters, my aim is to situate them within the broader framework of the *mal du siècle*, arguing that Balzac's young men have failed to seize the opportunity of empowerment through the July Revolution, just as the Orleanist gerontocracy has institutionally neglected their talent.

¹⁴ Honoré de Balzac, *Z. Marcas*, in *La Comédie humaine*, ed. by Pierre-Georges Castex, 12 vols (Paris: Gallimard, Bibliothèque de la Pléiade, 1976-81), 8: 815-54 (pp. 847-8). All subsequent references to works from *La Comédie humaine* (hereafter *CH*) are parenthesised in the main text.

¹⁵ J. J. Fazy, *De la Gérontocratie, ou abus de la sagesse des vieillards dans le gouvernement de la France* (Paris: Delaforest, Ponthieu, Delaunay, 1828), p. 5-6.

Alexandra K. Wettlaufer

Painting Artistic Identity: Gender and the Institutions of Power in the Atelier

The image of the artist in the studio has been a popular theme since the Renaissance and has served over the centuries as a scene of self-fashioning where the painter can construct a social and aesthetic identity for an audience. By the onset of the nineteenth century, a period of aesthetic as well as social transition, the atelier painting had become particularly important in France, for, as Svetlana Alpers contends, whenever the artist's role becomes ambiguous, "the working space offers a provisional solution. It is a way to define ground which is the painter's own." The image of the artist in the studio generates meaning through a complex dialogue with other images of artists, art and social identity both in the past and present, and thus engages in a relational or dialectic way with the institutions of power within the artistic and social spheres.

While the vast majority of studio scenes portray a male artist with his canvas, the topos also became popular with female painters in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. Like those by their male counterparts, these images seek to construct female artistic identity in dialogue with contemporary social myths and mores, but at the same time they participate in the construction of post-revolutionary artistic identity writ large, in both discursive and counter-discursive ways. In this paper, I will examine paintings of women artists in the atelier by Adélaïde Labille-Guiard, Gabrielle Capet, Marie-Victorie Lemoine, Constance Mayer, Adrienne Grandpierre-Deverzy and Amélie Cogniet in terms of their own negotiations with the institutions of power as they attempt to forge a place for the female artist within the field of cultural production. In my readings I will locate these atelier scenes within the larger context of contemporary male authored images of the studio by Cless, Cohereau, Boilly, Robert, Vernet, Leprince, et alia, and I will conclude with an analysis of Léon Cogniet's *Le Tintoret peignant sa fille morte* (1843). Dubbed "one of the most celebrated paintings of the Romantic era," this canvas portrays the Renaissance master painting the corpse of his daughter, Marietta Robusti, an accomplished painter in her own right and progenitrix of the nineteenth-century *femme artiste*. This popular image of the dead female artist in the atelier by Cogniet, an influential teacher at the *Ecole des Beaux-Arts* and member of the *Institut de France*, may be seen as an anxious but emblematic response to the evolving dynamic of gender and power in the atelier. Indeed, as much as any of the female-authored images of painting women, Cogniet's canvas of the dead Marietta Robusti reflects the role played by women not simply as models but also as artists themselves in the on-going construction of nineteenth-century artistic identity.

ⁱ Jules Ferry "Distribution des Récompenses aux Artistes exposants du Salon de 1879" *Explication des Ouvrages de Peinture*, Paris, 1880, p.xii-xiv

ⁱⁱ Ferry, 1880, p.xii-xiv